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THE PROMISE OF SOCIOLOGY*

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AMERICAN sociologists, as a group, are well aware of their defects and many short-comings and have developed a literature of self criticism which is a wholesome product and should never be allowed to die out. Not that all the criticism is or could be expected to be judicious, for many of the critics seem to be engaged in a disguised recommendation of their own superior formulations.

Many among us are moved to write words of sharp reproof when they contemplate the achievements of sociology in comparison with the rich treasures of physics and seem discouraged that we cannot proceed to the speedy erection of a comparable system.

It is, indeed, both generous and just to admire the triumphs of physics. Who can but envy Michelson's delicate and accurate measurements, so fittingly described in the lines of Lewis:

"He gathered up the iris from the plunging planet's rim
With bright precision of fingers that Ariel envieth him.
But when from the plunging planet he stretched out a hand to feel
How far the ether drifted back, through flesh or stone or steel,
The fine fiducial fingers felt no ethereal breath;
He penciled the night with a cross of light, and found it still as death.
Have the stars conspired against him? Do measurements only seem?
Are time and space but shadows, enmeshed in a private dream?

"But dreaming or not, he measured; he made him a rainbow bar;
And first he measured the measures of men and then he measured a star.
Now this is the law of science, and this is the price of peace:
That men should learn to measure, or ever their strife shall cease.
They shall measure the cost of killing, and measure the hearts that bleed;
And measure the earth for sowing; and measure the sowing of seed."

* Presidential Address at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, Dec. 29, 1937.

Alas, we can measure nothing in our field with the accuracy of the physicists, but we have some measurements of which we are not ashamed. Some of our phenomena we cannot yet measure at all, and it is not impossible that some things can never be measured and accuracy must be sought by other methods, but at least our task is well begun and now a few worthy achievements are already recorded to our credit.

And if we have not come as far as we could have hoped, we can take comfort in the fact that we have not been at our task very long as compared with the physical sciences. It was 144 years from the discovery of the revolution of the heavenly orbs to the writing of the mathematical formula that explained their movements; 144 years from Copernicus to Newton. Give us 144 years and we ought to have by that time, comparable results! I hereby call on the president of the American Sociological Society in the year 2081 to take note of this prophecy of mine!

Criticism we have always with us, like the poor, but would it not be well at this time to compare our state with that of our ancestors who lived at no vastly remote period and see if there is not sound cause for encouragement and a genuine promise for sociology as well as for our sister social sciences?

We need only go back a few centuries to see a world where not only was there no thought of a scientific sociology, but when the proposal to engage in such studies as we delight to pursue would have been forbidden under heavy penalties. Ours is a modern world of movement; that older day was a world of immobility.

When the middle age had reached its climax the conception of order and fixity came to its ultimate formulation. The solid earth was fixed and immovable on its pillars and foundations. The common people were bound to the soil and were transferred with the land along with the hedges and the buildings. Men's faith was fixed and absolute, and to question was a sin. The king was responsible to no mortal authority, for even disrespect to him brought punishment, and opposition invited destruction. Morals were absolute and of no human origin. Likewise the species of living things were fixed and eternal, created once and for all. The head of the church was but an instrument, a mouth-piece of the deity; for all authority and wisdom came from beyond the skies. The temporal ruler did not assert his own private right; for he received laws that were written by the finger of God as Hammurabi had done by the river, or Moses by the stony mount.

History was short in span, clear in purpose, and easily comprehended. Only four thousand years from Adam to Christ, with the end not far off, when the consuming fire was to destroy the wicked world and the redeemed of the Lord would judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Never before and not again since has absolutism, fixity, and certainty been so fully realized.

The changes of the years intervening between the medieval age and our own time will be differently appraised by men with differing values. To some the loss of the medieval world-view is a dark tragedy; to others it marks a triumphant struggle of the human spirit. But to no one is it doubtful that the change has occurred. And the changes have made a new world.

For the fixity and absolutism did not fail to encounter resistance. It was in the very century when St. Thomas was building his edifice that the inquisition was set up to hunt down and destroy those who found it unacceptable. In 1543 the earth was shown to be a spinning sphere so that the location of heaven itself was in doubt. By 1687 the exact mathematical formula that governed its motions had been written, and men could set their clocks by the stars. By 1517 religious absolutism was challenged, and Christian men asserted the right to formulate their own faith. They had to go to war to defend this right but they won the war; and the dictates of one's own conscience is the measure of liberty to Catholic, Protestant, and Jew alike in our time.

The fixity of the authority of secular kings was shattered by a like bitter struggle. In 1649 they killed one of them, and by 1789 they took a step that soon forced them to kill another. In 1776 the world was informed that governments derive their powers from below and not from above, from the consent of the governed and not from the will of any god. And in 1918 the ruler of a powerful nation proclaimed to a listening world that the reign of law was not only based on the consent of the governed, but was "sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

What a contrast is here! Opinion, shifting, fallible, the organization of the wills of common men—opinion, despised in the Middle age, has at last become sovereign; unseating rulers, forcing states to war, and compelling peoples to peace.

We may pass over more quickly the dissolution of absolutism in other aspects of life and the world. In the 19th century the very species of living creatures were found to have been always in transition and from whales and lions, to apes and men, the slow evolution has been moulding new forms and creating that which had not been.

The sociologists have made their contribution to the shift from the absolute to the modern in their concept of the mores, which have been shown to proceed from the lives of men and not from the mind of the transcendent. Morals spring from the human struggle and, while every code has a certain sacredness, yet none is sacrosanct, and all are subject to change. It was our distinguished chairman, Professor Ross, who once wrote in a book that was highly and publicly commended by the president of the United States: "We need an annual supplement to the decalogue."

We are approaching controversial ground but it should be easy to find a formula that will be accepted by us all. It is not demonstrable that the

modern world is better or happier than the medieval world; it is clear, however, that it is different, very different, vastly different. There has been a transition from the changeless to change; from the absolute to the relative; from the transcendental to the human. To the modern man, truth is to be carved out by human effort, not accepted on the word of a learned doctor.

What has all this to do with sociology? Much every way. It is for us by hard thinking and disinterested search, by co-operative effort, to dig and to discover, to understand the causes and conditions—for only on intelligent comprehension of facts, principles, causes and conditions, can intelligent programs of action be based.

For if absolute and revealed truth is no longer accessible, how can we hope to know our world of societies, communities, and persons unless we learn to develop and apply methods of tested search to these things also? An absolute world demanded humble acquiescence and unquestioning acceptance of doctrine; the modern distrusts dogmatism, he values doubt as essential to the testing of truth, and seeks to invent ever newer and better methods for discovery.

It has been a long time since the beautiful picture of an inevitable evolution toward ever higher and better conditions has been convincing to us. The fair doctrine of progress was beautiful while it lasted but the glow has faded and the sober conviction has come that it was too good to be true. But the repudiation of a straight line of evolution does not mean that there is no development anywhere; and the loss of the Victorian faith in the one far off divine event to which the whole creation moves, does not mean that we cannot have specific desires that may be gratified, nor does it forbid us to expect that separate goals of endeavor can be reached.

One does not hear so much in these days of the three stages of Comte, but it is possible to salvage much of value in his formulation. He spoke of the theological stage, when the explanation was to be found in the mind and the will of the gods; of the metaphysical stage, when eternal but transcendental principles constituted the basis of explanation; and last of all, the positive stage when men sought to discover by intelligence the laws that interpret the universe. I would venture that we may, if we are careful in our statement, find still much of value in such a sequence, and for purposes of this discussion it may be allowable to speak of five stages instead of three, of which the last is of peculiar interest to sociology.

The first of these stages might be called the preliterate or primitive or uncivilized or whatever name is convenient to denote the attitude toward men and things which may still be observed from Greenland to New Guinea in which startling events are attributed to spirits, and magical tricks and ceremonies are used to ward off the undesired and to insure what is wished for. For our purposes it is most important to observe that it is an era of

pre-organization, antedating the appearance in human experience of a cosmos. There is no unification of the world and no adequate foundation for conduct or morals. Life has its securities but is, in the main and on the whole, highly precarious.

Then, after two hundred thousand years when no one anywhere had done it before, in one favored spot, or about the same time in two, men gathered into a city, when conquest had formed a state, and writing was developed. A written literature added a new dimension to human life. Some would call it good, some would be doubtful as to the benefits, but no one would deny that it was importantly new, and that it had momentous consequences. It made possible the first broadcasting, infinitely slower in velocity but compensatingly enduring. Writing reversed the saying of the apostle; in this instance the things that were seen, the written sentences, were eternal; the things that were not seen, the spoken words, were temporal. *Verbum scriptum manet.*

But writing had a more basic importance for sociology, for it gave to groups and peoples the analogue of memory in a person, and made possible a group self-consciousness that was not limited to the memory of the oldest grandfather. Without the sacred books, zionism, for example, would be unthinkable.

But even more important for social theory was the effect of the preservation of the oral legends and teachings in the old, and therefore, sacred writings, which, with the appearance of kings and emperors, gave new imagery to the picture of the after life and a new possibility to men's idea of the government of the world. There *was* a theological stage. There is among us a certain opposition to statistics but the first recorded objection that I can find is in the experience of King David. He had the population counted but when the census was followed by a pestilence and seventy thousand people died, it was written down and may still be read in the sacred book that it was on account of the irritation of the deity who, though he numbers the very hairs of our heads, and records the fall of the sparrows, yet regarded it as presumptuous to have men interfere with his work in this way. Even the opponents of statistics may invoke divine authority!

Neither the primitive nor the theological stage has wholly disappeared, and millions of men to this day live their lives in one or the other. But the time did come when the theological beliefs were in need of proofs and then philosophy began. Proofs of the existence of God are many, but they are hardly necessary to one who already believes, and strangely unconvincing to one who has become skeptical. Whatever the causes of this social change, the stage is undoubtedly discernible when men referred to eternal metaphysical principles to explain what their fathers had held to emanate from the will of a divine being. Men sought a new pronoun for the subject of their verbs; they turned from asking "who" to an inquiry involving "what."

This stage is also, like the other two, by no means obsolete everywhere. It began with the earliest philosophers. It lost its prestige in the west with the passing of Hegel, though a few gifted men find comfort in it still.

The scientific stage of Comte may be divided into two. The account of the transition to the modern age and the story of the discovery of the scientific method has been often told and is familiar to all. But the importance of the discovery can never be overstated. For something over three hundred years ago, a very recent date in the long story of man, there appeared in western Europe a momentous formulation which some have considered as important an event in the life of the race as anything that ever happened. It has been held to be second only to the appearance of language itself. It was this conviction: *That the Forces of Nature Can be Used and Controlled to Satisfy and Increase the Wants of Man.*

For it must be kept in mind that high intelligence and superior intellectual and cultural ability have no negative correlation with magic or superstition. There was as much magic in the days of Augustus Caesar as today in the Congo forest. The flight of birds gave permission to put to sea, and the entrails of a fowl told when to go to war. And all down through the medieval period of European history, when the great cathedrals were building, and the field of the cloth of gold was a proverb of the magnificence of rulers, men lived in fear and anxiety in the face of the blind forces of nature. Comets were portents, earthquakes were the punishment for sin, and famine and pestilence were beyond the control of man.

The theological stage and the metaphysical stage were alike hospitable to the practice of magic and helpless in the absence of science. Great poets could and did sing; transcendent artists erected marble temples which are the despair of the lesser men who followed them; great orators left models for the speakers of all time to imitate; and mighty warriors left their names as synonyms of ability and genius. And all the time, from the least of them to the greatest, there was fear of the unseen and terror in the contemplation of the unknown. Marcus Aurelius could only counsel resignation: "When you kiss your child in the morning, say to him: Perhaps, tomorrow, you will be dead."

But the modern spirit will not submit. When little Elizabeth McCormick died of scarlet fever, her father and mother built her a monument, a hospital for the contagious diseases of children, with provision for a research staff and a request that an effort should be made to discover the cure for these diseases, with especial emphasis on scarlet fever. Twelve years ago this Christmas my own child fell ill of scarlet fever and he was taken to this very hospital where, in the meantime, science had discovered how to detect the children who were susceptible to scarlet fever, and how to tell those who were immune. They found a method of making immune those who were not immune, and discovered a way to cure those who had contracted

the disease. The forces of nature had been used and controlled to satisfy the wants of man. Progress in general is too large an order to assert; progress in particular enterprises is too certain an achievement to deny.

Comte's scientific stage can, it has been suggested, be divided into two sub-stages, one of which is well advanced, the other only getting off to a promising start with little to its credit, as yet, but with abundant promise of future achievement. For the present age is enjoying the fruits of physical science and the world is transformed as a result. Nor is it only in the field of technology, nay it is not chiefly in the field of technology that the debt of man to science appears. The new astronomy, the magnificent structure of modern geology, the splendid edifice of organic evolution of biological forms, these are not technological either in origin or application, and yet they have lifted a load of care and anxiety which was so heavy that we marvel that our fathers were able to bear it. The forces of nature were blind, capricious, and dependent upon an arbitrary will or merciless laws. The center has shifted to man. We have triumphed in constructing a conception of the world that will make us feel somewhat at home in it instead of regarding it as a strange place of painful pilgrimage: a probation, till bliss or hell should be our lot in the transcendent realm. And now has come our fifth stage.

But the scientific attitude was, until these latter decades limited to the physical world. To this good hour it is not too much to say that our people are as bewildered in the face of the blind forces of human nature as their fathers were in the face of the storms and the earthquakes.

Wars come when no one seems to want them, industrial strife occurs when industrial peace would be to the interest of all. Race conflict increases the sum of human misery and warps the soul of him who injures and of him who suffers. Personal anxiety and individual inefficiency, family discord and marital disaster—why lengthen the list? What is the matter? No philosophy? We have had great philosophers for more than twenty centuries and the experts in philosophy still recommend them. Religion? Great religions with doctrines of love and joy and peace—these we have had for scores of generations. Preachers to preach these? The history of the church has a bright and glittering roster of magnificent pulpit orators and prophets who have held out the panacea till their holy words have become trite with repetition. Reformers? They have been with us for long; they are with us yet; some have even crept into the camp of the sociologists but their zeal is not according to knowledge. Why not turn to science?

The preacher tells us to purify our hearts and to fill them with love; the agitator tells us whom to hate. The one calls us to our knees, and the other summons us to the battle. We need not decry the efforts of these earnest souls, knowing their sincerity, though sincerity is so cheap a virtue that no one should ask much credit for possession of it.

But why not try intelligence? The chief of the G men rants loudly about who is to blame for crimes. Is there not call for patient search for the conditions which occasion crimes? Delinquency is a sore evil—what are the conditions, all of them, that bring about delinquency? Are we to assume that this type of problem is too difficult for the human intellect? It is the conviction of sociology that the same careful methods of analysis, criticism, hypothesis forming, data gathering, and co-operative verifying will give us understanding.

Is race conflict eternal? It is surely age-long but so, until yesterday, was recurrent famine and starvation. The Jews have suffered for two or three thousand years, and yet all we have been asking is the question of who is to blame. Is the human reason to confess impotence in the face of such a problem? Can we not hope to understand the conditions under which race prejudice arises and the alterations which it might be possible to make of conditions that would cause its diminution or its disappearance. The facts might lead to conclusions unacceptable to the Jews or to their enemies, but it is the promise of sociology and its sister social sciences that these and similar problems are capable of investigation and that a fortunate discovery will put us on the road to a demonstrable solution.

To some of us it appears that the promise of sociology is encouraging. We assume that the laws of human nature can be known. And, if they can be discovered, we assume that they exist or else we could not hope to find them. And if there are laws that can be formulated, causes that can be determined, sequences that can be established, then we are on solid ground in assuming the possibility of a mature science. Human nature being human is different from the other aspects of nature. Human nature is not the same as dog nature, or the nature of a rat, or a fish, or an oak tree. All these have their ways which we can hope to discover and they differ from the ways of man.

But we assume that human nature is not only human but also nature. And therefore in investigating man we are investigating nature. We assume that what happens to man is a natural happening, given the conditions which are present. Does a man commit suicide? Under what conditions did this happen? If all the conditions are clearly and fully known, we might hope to understand just why and how this result was observed. Does a robber rob? Under what conditions, all conditions, economic, personal, social, religious? Let us find the significant conditions and the phenomenon may cease to be inexplicable. If man is a product of nature, wholly and without residue, then the acts of man are to be understood as natural acts, and the culture of human societies will be said to have its laws which, in turn, we can discover, and discovering come to understand, and understanding, learn to use our knowledge.

And so, to those who are ready to receive the saying, all the acts of man

are natural, in the sense that they may be expected from the discoverable conditions. The very existence of schools is a tribute to an unexpressed recognition of this hard saying. For we want our children to respond to conditions which we contrive to set up.

For not all that is natural is desired or desirable. Earthquakes are natural, and storms, and drouth. It was only by considering them as natural that we overcame our helplessness in the face of them.

Social science, if it is to be science, must assume some such postulate. The positive stage of Comte has well advanced with respect to astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology. The scientific stage with regard to man is beginning to be. It is given to such as you whom I am addressing to make its possibilities real.

Thirty-one years ago this society held its first meeting with an enrollment of slightly more than a hundred members, and the treasurer balanced his budget at less than \$350. A generation has passed since that time and only a few of our honored senior members remain of the young men who were present then but our membership has long exceeded a thousand. It is well to look back and observe the changes which the years have witnessed. It would be not without profit for those who are now active to read the account of that first meeting, available in our permanent archives.

One striking note in the record is the protest against those who were continually raising for debate the question whether sociology was a science. They considered it a profitless inquiry then, and there are those of us who consider it a profitless question today. It can only lead to barren and formal definitions and neither adds light to our path nor gives us assistance in our tasks. Complete, unified, consistent, sociology is not, as all the world knows. But these thirty years have seen the clearing away of much ancient error, the invention and perfection of many promising methods, the successful attack on many significant problems, and a gratifying growth in the number of men and women who are devoting their efforts to the creation of a sound sociological body of organized principles and tested laws.

By far the most encouraging of the changes of the generation since our American Society was founded is in the attitude of the public toward sociology. Then it was a new word to our public whose interest and permission is essential if we are to have support for our work, and neither in the academic world nor in the public mind was sociology able to claim the respect and prestige that every such enterprise must have if it is to succeed at its task. We owe a debt to those sociologists of the first generation who fought our battles for recognition and who brought it about that we can now take our place in the councils of the sciences. Other men have labored and we have entered into their labors.

Indeed, the success of our pioneers has been so great that there is a certain danger present, and a certain caution necessary. When the head of

the most powerful government in the world can appeal to a former president of this society to make a study of our social trends that can be used in the formation of far-reaching public policies, there is demand for caution lest the layman overestimate our achievements and we be tempted to make premature pronouncements. It is not an unrecognized danger, and being recognized, there is reason to expect the scientific caution that should characterize every ethical scholar.

One of the most striking changes in the activities of the society itself is to be observed by a comparison of its first program in 1906 with the present list of meetings and topics. For fifteen years, the meetings were devoted to the discussion of a central theme, or topic, and the men of that day were largely concerned with the question of the knowledge, information, and point of view that was of value to American students and which it was the duty of sociology to contribute. Those were the days of systems, and methodology was chiefly concerned with abstract nouns and semantic subtleties. For those were the days of creation and foundation. Today, a sociologist is made into a sociologist by sociologists in the graduate school of a university. But in the beginning a sort of academic parthenogenesis was a necessity. The first generation of sociologists was like Roger Williams who wanted to be a Baptist but could find no Baptist to baptize him. For you could only be a Baptist if you were baptized by a Baptist. Williams solved the difficulty by baptizing a friend, who, now being baptized could in turn make a Baptist out of Williams. It is not to be wondered at that the baptism of some of our earlier sociologists was sometimes deemed irregular.

About fifteen years ago recognition was given to the increasing differentiation of interests in the specialized efforts of our members and the formation of divisions and sections began, a practice that has continued with increasing emphasis. This year another step has been taken which seems to have met with wide-spread approval in omitting entirely any designation of a central theme for the program of the annual meeting. It is possible to regard this trend, for which no one is responsible, as indicative of change in a desirable direction. There are those who appear to be disturbed by it but thoughtful re-examination may lead to a revision of judgment.

In the first place, the division into sections means everywhere an emphasis on research, and it needs no argument to show that fruitful investigation must be limited to a small area of significant problems, must be intensive, long-continued, and co-operative. And there are problems in connection with farm life, religion, crime, the local community, and other interests represented in the list of sections which our membership can with profit discuss in their annual gatherings.

Of equal importance is the significance of the divisions and sections with reference to a man of straw which has been erected and valiantly demol-

ished by many a college president and not a few sociologists. I refer to the accusation that sociology is not sufficiently concerned with the work of the other social scientists and with the results of the other investigations. The list of five divisions and ten sections besides various joint sessions with sister disciplines is eloquent of the fact that we are recognizing the well-known principle that some of the richest fields for cultivation lie on the frontier between two specialties.

There was a time when sociology was considered alike by its opponents and its proponents to be a satellite, fated to revolve around some other and more basic science. Cooley has recorded his dissent from this conception of the dependence on economics.

"I cannot see that the getting of food, or whatever else the economic activities may be defined to be, is any more the logical basis of existence than the ideal activities. It is true that there could be no ideas and institutions without a food supply; but no more could we get food if we did not have ideas and institutions. All work together, and each of the principal functions is essential to every other.

"History is not like a tangled skein which you may straighten out by getting hold of the right end and following it with sufficient persistence. It has no straightness, no mere lineal continuity, in its nature. It is a living thing, to be known by sharing its life, very much as you know a person. In the organic world—that is to say in real life—each function is a center from which causes radiate and to which they converge; all is alike cause and effect; there is no logical primacy, no independent variable, no place where the thread begins."

These particularistic explanations, this monistic fallacy, constituted not only a logical error, seeking one cause where there are in reality many variables, but involved the dependence of sociology, one might almost say the degradation of sociology, to a position of secondary importance. It took a long time before the many false starts were recognized as false. The foundation was sought by some in psychology, by others in biology, by others again in geography, or in economics and, on the continent of Europe, in philosophy. We see things more clearly now. We recognize that we need the results of those kindred sciences but we feel that they also may have some need of us.

Some years before the organization of the society I went up to the university as a student of theology. My teachers were presenting theology as founded on philosophy and, after a year, I transferred to the department of philosophy, hoping to get at the heart of the matter. The philosophy lectures, at that time, were insisting on the importance of a foundation in psychology and after a year I went over into that department, seeking the basis and a sure foundation. In psychology, in those days, the emphasis was on a strong physiological and neurological foundation, and eventually

I put on a white coat and enrolled in the medical school and began to dissect the brains of rats and men. But the foundation there recommended was physiological chemistry, and so I gave up the merry-go-round, coming to the conclusion that the metaphor was ill chosen; that the sciences are not founded on each other, and that there is none that is fundamental or basic. It is no longer helpful to erect a hierarchy of the sciences. Even here there is a democracy—a co-operative quest, where each can get from others and give back, in return, something of value.

Sociology has learned, or at least is surely learning, that it must find its own problems, develop its own methods, and in closest contact with sister disciplines co-operate in a common task. If in the past sociology was a daughter in her mother's house, today she is mistress in her own.

We do not see any fixed goal. Our age imagines no utopia nor does it look for a millennium. The quest for certainty has been succeeded by a desire for a greater measure of security, and our scientific laws only aspire to a high degree of probability. When the present crises are met or passed, other and newer difficulties may be expected, and future generations will have to struggle with them.

But we can define our proximate goals and we can enjoy the prospect of separate triumphs of the human reason. Our ideals may never be attained, but a fixed star is good to steer by. The triumphs of the age of physical science give us confidence in the power of the human reason. The forces of human nature may be used and controlled to satisfy and increase the wants of man. Ours is a profession of the highest dignity. There is every reason to hope that by our efforts human welfare may be advanced.

THE ROLE OF THEORY IN SOCIAL RESEARCH¹

TALCOTT PARSONS
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SOME WILL perhaps consider it presumptuous for one who has come to be known primarily as a theorist to talk about empirical research. I have done some work in the latter field and hope to make some contributions to it before many years. But apart from that I can perhaps but cite a statement of which Max Weber was fond, "In order to understand Caesar it is not necessary to have been Caesar." So perhaps it is possible for one who has not been quite so completely immersed in empirical research as some of you, but who has nevertheless been a good deal concerned with certain of its problems, to help illuminate them.

I should, however, like to make myself clear in advance. The current state of sociological science is not such that anyone is entitled to dogmatize with an air of canonical authority. To my mind the only hope of reaching that fundamental unity of outlook and purpose which I think almost all of us feel should actuate the workers in a field of science, is to attempt seriously, objectively and respectfully to learn from each other's work, thought and experience. It is my very strong conviction that, if the current situation be approached in this spirit, and the *trouble* taken to get to the bottom of other people's problems, there will turn out to be far more unity on fundamentals than appears at first sight.

What I can do on an occasion like this seems to me to be to present to you with due humility for your consideration a few of the results of my own thinking about and experience in sociological work.

Practically all competent observers are, I think, agreed that there is a basic difference in the situation in such sciences as physics and chemistry, and those in the social group, particularly sociology. I do not mean to deny that the former group have their crucially important unsolved problems and areas of controversy. These, however, occur either on the frontiers of the technical part of the science itself or in the field of the interpretation of the broad significance of its results as a whole. But there is a very substantial core of material on which there is entirely general agreement. What should go into the more elementary courses in these fields is not in controversy. Moreover this common core is not only a body of discrete miscellaneous facts—it is closely integrated with a logically elaborated body of theory, much of which, like the fundamental equations of dynamics in mechanics, is stated in a highly generalized form.

¹ An Address delivered before the Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research, at the University of Chicago, summer 1937.

When we turn to the social field we find a very different situation. Most of our controversial problems seem to be not on the periphery but at the very starting points of the field. There is widespread feeling that we must settle the deepest current controversies before we can do *anything*. This at least seems to be true of those who feel the need to reach high levels of generalization. This feeling of fundamental uncertainty is vividly brought out by the controversial nature of the content of elementary courses.

It is scarcely possible to consider this situation without being struck by what is both one of the most conspicuous and, to me, one of the most disquieting features of the current situation. That is, there is a tendency to the development of a very deep hiatus between the more empirically and the theoretically minded workers in the social science fields.

I do not mean merely that there is a good deal of division of labor, as I am told there is in physics, between men whose work is primarily in the laboratory and those who work only with reports of laboratory results, pencil and complicated mathematical formulae. It is rather the tendency to a complete divorce, a mutual repudiation of the legitimacy of each other's work and interests, which is disquieting. Certain of the empirically minded are not merely not interested in attempting to contribute to theory themselves, they are actively anti-theoretical. They consider any work in theoretical fields as positively pernicious and contrary to the canons of science. It is speculation, sterile dialectic, metaphysics or even mysticism.

On the other hand, many of the persons best known as theorists have not only not themselves made distinguished empirical contributions, they have often given the impression of not caring very much at least about the kind of empirical work which the empiricists have done, of having rather a sovereign disdain for the arduous difficulties of the empirical fields.

I do not propose to dwell mainly upon the shortcomings of the empirical schools. A very large part of the difficulty seems to me to lie on the theoretical side of the controversy. Many features of our theoretical traditions seem to me seriously to have inhibited the potential usefulness of theory for empirical research. One important reason why the empiricists have tended to be anti-theoretical is that they have, often rightly, seen much to object to in the particular brands of theory they have had held up to them.

But before going further into these questions it is necessary to state certain premises which seem to me fundamental, even though they imply a drastic repudiation of certain forms of empiricist position. Sympathy with a person's motives and feelings in a situation does not necessarily imply endorsement of the position he takes.

In these terms I must categorically disagree with the view that any empirical science can be developed to a high point without reference to generalized conceptual schemes, to theory. The process of the growth of scientific knowledge is not a process of accumulation of discrete discoveries

of "fact." In the first place our study of fact, however little we may be aware of it, is always guided by the logical structure of a theoretical scheme, even if it is entirely implicit. We never investigate "all the facts" which could be known about the phenomena in question, but only those which we think are "important." This involves a selection among the possible facts. Now if we investigate carefully, though few empiricists do, what is the basis of this selection, it will, I think, uniformly be found that among the criteria of importance and the only ones of strictly scientific status is that of their relevance to the logical structure of a theoretical scheme.

Secondly, few if any empiricists, being as they usually are truly imbued with scientific curiosity, are content simply to state bald, discrete facts. They go beyond this to maintain the existence of relations of interdependence, causal relations. It is stated not merely that the steam railroad was developed and certain kinds of industrial developments took place, but that without the invention of the railroad these developments *could not* have taken place—that the invention of the railroad was a causal *factor* in industrial development.

Now I wish to assert that such an imputation of causal relationship cannot be proved without reference to generalized theoretical categories. If it is asserted, the assertion is logically dependent on these categories whether they are explicit or implicit.

If this be true, the alternative for the scientist in the social or any other field is not as between theorizing and not theorizing, but as between theorizing explicitly with a clear consciousness of what he is doing with the greater opportunity that gives of avoiding the many subtle pitfalls of fallacy, and following the policy of the ostrich, pretending not to theorize and thus leaving one's theory implicit and uncriticized, thus almost certainly full of errors.

This assertion of the inevitability of theory in science naturally cannot be proved on this occasion. The next best thing is to cite authority. Alfred Marshall was an economist who so far as I know has hardly seriously been accused of tender-minded disregard for fact. In an address at the University of Cambridge he made a striking statement which exactly expresses my feeling: "The most reckless and treacherous of all theorists is he who professes to let facts and figures speak for themselves."² If Marshall stated this point in a most striking form, I think Max Weber may be said definitely to have proved it. It was one of his greatest methodological contributions definitively to have refuted the claims of the German Historical Schools that it is possible to have valid empirical knowledge of causal relationships with no logical implication of reference to generalized theoretical categories.

But if generalized theory is essential to science, it does not follow that anything and everything which goes by that name is of equal value. Quite

² *Memorials of Alfred Marshall*, ed. by A. C. Pigou. p. 108.

the contrary, there is much to object to in a great deal of what has gone by the name of sociological theory. Empiricists are, as I have said, right in repudiating much of current theory though that does not justify them in extending this repudiation to all theory in principle simply because it is theory.

Indeed, that there is something wrong with current social theory seems to me to be clearly indicated by the fact that there is such drastic lack of agreement and that most people who write and talk about it feel impelled to divide theorists up into "schools" which, it goes without saying, are mutually incompatible so that a person who agrees with one school in almost any respect, must by definition oppose all other schools in all respects.

This deplorable situation seems to me in large measure due to a failure to distinguish adequately the various conceptual elements which either go to make up, or have become associated with, what are generally called theoretical structures in science, particularly in social science. I should like to distinguish three classes of such elements and put forward the thesis that much of the difficulty is due to modes of conception of and undue emphasis on two of them, resulting in distortion of the significance and role of the third.

1. No science develops in a vacuum, either intellectual or social. The scientific content of an intellectual tradition is always closely interwoven with elements of a different character. So far as these elements are conceptually formulated, they may be called for present purposes philosophical elements. The problem of the relation of scientific and philosophical ideas intermingled in the same body of thought has been a prolific source of trouble in social as in other science.

With regard to this problem thought seems to have tended strongly to get itself into a dilemma: One horn of the dilemma is the view that the scientific and philosophical components of a body of thought must necessarily be bound rigidly together in a single completely determinate system. The inference is that a body of scientific theory, if it is logically coherent, is simply an aspect of a philosophical system and none of it can be accepted without accepting the system as a whole. Thus the critics of classical and neoclassical economic theory have often held that acceptance of the theory for even the most elementary purposes implied the acceptance of the whole rigid philosophical system, extreme rationalism, psychological hedonism, utilitarian ethics and the rest. Conversely it has often been held that it was impossible to be confident of even the most elementary theoretical proposition, such as that the value of money is an inverse function of its quantity, without first settling definitively all the problems of the complete philosophical system on which it supposedly depends.

There is a very widespread and justified feeling that philosophical theories cannot claim the same order of objectivity and verifiability as the propositions of empirical science. Hence it is not surprising that people who

disliked these implications should, without questioning the premises on which they rested, attempt to evade them by repudiating theory altogether. After all, to be responsible for a complete philosophical system, once the first innocent step in theoretical reasoning is taken, is a rather terrifying prospect. In this dilemma my sympathies are definitely with the empiricist.

But I cannot accept the dilemma. In my opinion the whole thing rests on a serious misconception of the relation of scientific theory to philosophy. I do not believe either that scientific theory has no philosophical implications, or that it involves no philosophical preconceptions. They cannot, in that sense, be radically divorced. But at the same time it does not follow that they are rigidly bound together in the sense this dilemma implies. On the contrary, though they are interdependent in many subtle ways, they are also independent. Above all it is perfectly possible for a scientist, even a theorist, to get ahead with his work without worrying about a philosophical system in general, but only considering philosophical questions one by one when and as they directly impinge on his own scientific problems. Indeed, this false dilemma is the principal source of the charge that theorizing is necessarily "metaphysical" and has no place in science.

Please note, I do not say that scientific theory should never concern itself with philosophical problems. But I do say that its burden can be enormously lightened if it divests itself of unnecessary philosophical concerns; and it can do this to a far greater extent than is generally believed, especially by empiricists.

2. The second type of conceptual element involved in bodies of theory which I wish to discuss is one which falls within the competence of science strictly construed, is hence not philosophical, but has, I think, received quite undue prominence especially in sociology. This is the element of what may be called "broad empirical generalization." Examples are such propositions as "the course of social development as a whole follows a linear evolutionary course," or "social processes are in the last analysis determined by economic (or geographical, or racial, etc., etc.) factors." Such "theories" embody a generalized judgment about the behavior of, or causes in, a hugely complicated class of empirical phenomena. They are analogous to such judgments as "the physical universe as a whole is running down."

Indeed it is in terms of such views, if not their philosophical positions, that sociological theories are usually classified. We have evolutionary vs. cyclical theories, economic, biological, religious interpretations.

Here again we find a dilemma. For we may well ask, how are propositions such as these to be *proved*? Where are the specific observations, the patently rigorous reasoning? If the proof is as cogent as their proponents claim, why the warring schools? Why cannot people be brought to agreement? The empiricist quite understandably begins to suspect it is because there isn't any such evidence, or it is woefully inadequate to the conclusions. Hence so far as theory in general is identified with this kind of thing, it is

held to be "speculative," only for people who have not absorbed the discipline of scientific caution, of asserting only what they can demonstrate. Here again my sympathies are with the empiricist. I do not think the great majority of propositions of this order have been or are capable of being rigorously demonstrated. Critical examination of them will reveal scientific defects of one kind or another.

3. So, if scientific theory in the social field consisted only of these two classes of elements, there would be much reason to follow the empiricist's advice and eschew it altogether. But I am confident that this is not the case, there are other elements as well which the usual empiricist indictment is prone to overlook, what I should like to call generalized analytical theory. This it is which seems to me to be the most important kind of conceptualization in the physical sciences.

Empiricists are often fond of maintaining that they emulate the physical sciences. It is my suspicion that they are able to make this claim partly because analytical theory has in such fields become so completely integrated with empirical research that it is completely taken for granted—no one feels it necessary to talk about its role because it seems obvious. After all, mathematics in its application to physics *is* theory.

Analytical theory in the sense in which I mean the term here, is a body of logically interrelated generalized concepts (logical universals) the specific facts corresponding to which (particulars) constitute statements describing empirical phenomena. Use of this concept in empirical research inherently tends to establish logical relations between them and their particular content (values) such that they come to constitute logically interdependent systems. Correspondingly the phenomena to which they apply come to be viewed as empirical systems, the elements of which are in a state of mutual interdependence.

Much the most highly developed analytical system in this sense in the social field is economic theory. Indeed, economists alone have among social scientists been steeped in an analytical system. But precisely because of the difficulty of clarifying the relation of this analytical system both to empirical reality itself and to the other types of conceptualization just discussed, even economics has not been spared an empiricist revolt, the institutionalist movement, which, though probably now passing, has in this context done a great deal of damage and threatened to do more.

Indeed, one important reason for the apparent backwardness of analytical theory in the social sciences is the greater formidability of these difficulties here as compared with the physical sciences. Those concerned with ordinary biases and with the often difficult distinctions between scientific and philosophical considerations I shall leave aside. But two others are of such great importance that I should like to say a few words about them: (1) Even in mathematical terms it is difficult to handle a system involving more than a very small number of variables. Where for various reasons

mathematical treatment is excluded, as it is in most of the social field, or severely limited as, I think, it is in all, there is a very strong impetus to simplification of problems by dealing with only a few variables in a system.

This inevitably implies that analytical theory in the social field is highly abstract. For the values of the variables of such a system state only a very limited number of facts about the concrete phenomena to which it applies. It is very seldom that other elements are sufficiently constant within any very wide range of variation of these variables so that trustworthy interpretation and prediction can be based on the laws of this analytical system alone. It needs to be supplemented by considerations involving the others as well. This is one of the most important reasons for the unsatisfactoriness of proceeding directly to broad empirical generalization. The case of some of the deductions from economic theory is an extremely vivid one. The facts relevant to any system of analytical theory are *never* all the facts knowable about the phenomenon in question, and only part of these are the values of variables. (2) A variable is a logical universal or combination of them. Its "values" are the particular facts which correspond to this universal. These facts are or can be obtained in one and only one way—by empirical observation. But it is the essence of the ordering function of theory that any old facts, however true, will not do, but only those which "fit" the categories of the system. What facts it is important to know are relative to the logical structure of the theory. This is not to be understood to mean that theory should dictate factual findings, but only the definition of the categories into which the findings are to be fitted.

Precisely here is one of the crucial problems of the relation of theory to empirical research. For theory to be fruitful it is essential that we have research techniques which provide the right kind of facts. There is, indeed, evidence that this is one of the most serious difficulties, that a great deal of current research is producing facts in a form which cannot be utilized by any current generalized analytical scheme. This is a very complex problem. I can comment on only one phase of it.

One important group of social empiricists is particularly partial to measurement. They point out the extreme importance of measurement in physics and conclude that only so far as its facts are the results of measurements can sociology claim the status of a science. I do not wish to depreciate the value of measurement wherever it is possible, but I do wish to point out two things: First, the importance of facts is relative to the way in which they can be fitted into analytical schemes: measurements are fundamental to physics because many of its variables are such that the only facts which make sense as their values are numerical data. But numerical data are far less scientifically important until they can be so fitted into analytical categories. I venture to say this is true of the vast majority of such data in the social fields.

Second, measurement as such is not logically essential to science, how-

ever desirable. Measurement is a special case of a broader category, classification. It is logically essential that the values of a variable should be reducible to a determinate classification. But the classification they admit of may be far more complex than the single order of magnitude which measurement requires. Where nonmetrical, even nonquantitative data can, with the help of such classification, be made to fit directly the logical structure of an analytical scheme it may be possible to establish relations of crucial importance which any amount of numerical data lacking such analytical relevance could not bring out.

In conclusion I may state schematically what seem to me to be the principal functions of analytical theory in research.

1. In the vast welter of miscellaneous facts we face it provides us with selective criteria as to which are important and which can safely be neglected.

2. It provides a basis for coherent organization of the factual material thus selected without which a study is unintelligible.

3. It provides a basis not only of selection and organization of known facts, but in a way which cannot be done otherwise reveals the *gaps* in our existing knowledge and their importance. It thus constitutes a crucially important guide to the direction of fruitful reasearch.

4. Through the mutual logical implications of different analytical systems for each other it provides a source of cross fertilization of related fields of the utmost importance. This often leads to very important developments within a field which would not have taken place had it remained theoretically isolated.

Finally, it may be asked, have the social sciences outside of economics any analytical theory at all to use? Must we not remain empiricists through sheer lack of anything else to turn to? I do not think so. I believe there is far more analytical theory in use than many of us realize. We have been, like Molière's hero, speaking prose all our lives without knowing it. Moreover, in a work recently published³ I have traced a process of development of analytical theory of the first magnitude including, I believe, a demonstration of its fruitfulness in empirical research. I am convinced that investigation would show that the ramifications of this development reach far beyond the limited group of workers with whom I have explicitly dealt.

My closing plea is then: Let us take what we already have and both use it to the utmost and develop it as rapidly as we can. Let us not either through failure to understand what it is that we have or through disillusionment with its very real shortcomings, throw it overboard to the tragic detriment of the interests of our science. If it is used and developed through the intimate co-operation of empirical and theoretical work, I am very hopeful for the future of sociological science.

³ *The Structure of Social Action*, N.Y., McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937.

DIFFERENTIAL INTENSITY OF INTRA-SOCIETAL DIFFUSION

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INTRODUCTION. The major portion of the literature on social change provides little basis for penetrating insights into the nature of the processes involved. Descriptive surveys of varying degrees of extensiveness are numerous, but intensive researches directed toward the clarification of concepts are very infrequent. In the field of cultural diffusion this is particularly noticeable. In spite of its importance in social change, and the widespread use of the term, diffusion, by social scientists, its analysis has not advanced beyond the first crude approximation provided by ethnology. What is needed is a number of intensive analyses of well-recorded diffusions in literate societies. The present paper is abstracted from one such case, the diffusion of amateur radio in the United States.¹

The study was set up to discover how a new twentieth century invention diffuses. Being a first study its methodology and its conclusions are crude. The hypothesis used to direct the study was the currently dominant insight that: the direction and intensity of cultural diffusion are functions of the interaction between an invention and a culture pattern, one or both of which may be undergoing change. $[D=f(I,P)]$.²

A previous report presented the analysis for the direction or historical path of the diffusion between the research units used.³ The following pages contain a résumé of the analysis of diffusion intensity within these same research units—census divisions and metropolitan and non-metropolitan communities of various sizes, a rough attempt to provide units of some cultural homogeneity. The diffusion is measured in terms of ratios of radio amateurs per 100,000 population and the ratios are given by years, or by periods of years chosen with sufficient reference to the history of the invention to be fairly homogeneous.⁴

¹ R. V. Bowers, *A Genetic Study of Institutional Growth and Cultural Diffusion in Contemporary American Civilization*, 1934. Unpublished dissertation in the University of Minnesota Library.

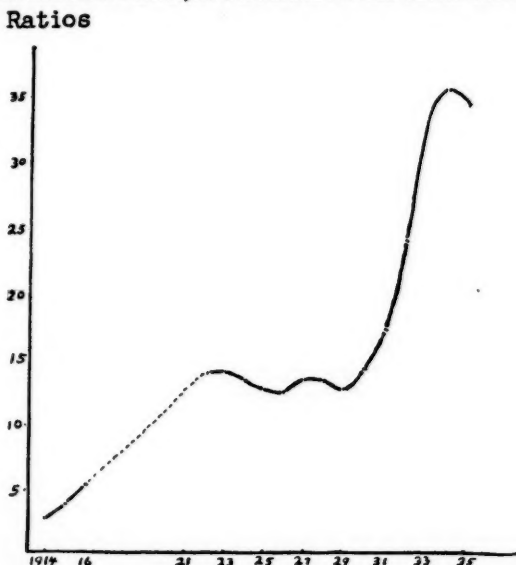
² D symbolizes diffusion; I , invention; P , culture pattern.

³ R. V. Bowers, "The Direction of Intra-Societal Diffusion," *American Sociological Review*, December, 1937. A *Diffusion Pattern* was found which followed regular historical sequences (a) from the North Atlantic and Pacific divisions inland to the Continental Divide and somewhat more slowly to the South; and (b) from metropolitan communities to non-metropolitan communities roughly in order of their size.

⁴ Annual Federal lists of radio amateurs provide complete records of the diffusion, the numbers running from 2,796 in 1914 to 17,271 in 1930 and 45,566 in 1935. See *Radio Stations in the United States*, Department of Commerce, 1913-1916, and *Amateur Radio in the United States*, Department of Commerce, 1920-. The 1914 and 1930 figures given here represent the author's own count. The former coincides with that of the government, the latter is approximately 120 short (portable stations were omitted entirely). The 1935 figure is that of the government as the study covered the period only to 1930.

Descriptive Analysis. In Figure I the national curve, which follows all the frequencies except 1921, is seen to have two periods of rapid growth mediated by minor fluctuations. Since each point represents a residual accumulated number of radio amateurs per 100,000 population,⁵ the curve is an ogive or cumulative frequency curve. Its mathematical formula has not been secured, but inspection is sufficient to show that such formal curves as the normal frequency ogive and the Pearl logistic are too simple, and not very good fits even for individual segments of the curve. The 1914 to

FIGURE I. RADIO AMATEURS PER 100,000 POPULATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1914-1935.*



* Data are lacking for 1917-1919 due to the war ban on private radio transmitting. The 1920 figure was not used because of various factors preventing a fair picture of radio participation (See R. V. Bowers, 1934, op. cit.). The 1933 figure is not available.

1922 segment is somewhat comparable to the normal ogive, but the 1929 to 1935 segment is much steeper than either of these mathematical curves.⁶

The bulk of the available empirical series for culture growth are comparable to our 1914 to 1929 segment, but amateur radio shows this to be merely one of a number of possible cycles (which perhaps ultimately return

⁵ The number for any one year is that for the preceding year minus those who dropped out and plus the newcomers.

⁶ The most recent and significant evidence on diffusion growth and the normal frequency ogive is to be found in H. Earl Pemberton, "The Curve of Culture Diffusion Rate," *American Sociological Review*, August, 1936.

to the zero point as the diffusing trait becomes obsolescent). It would seem that much more evidence is necessary before mathematical generalizations can be inferred.⁷

From Figure I the only inference we feel justified in drawing concerning the intensity of diffusion is: Diffusion intensity seems to follow a multi-cyclical course, each cycle being represented by a fairly regular curve that inclines to a saturation peak, then levels off or declines.

In Figure II sufficient reason is found for our hesitation to use stock curves to describe our data. Only the first cycle of Figure I is used, but it is evident that the national curve conceals divisional curves of great variation.

The nature of the divisional curves conforms strikingly to their order in the Diffusion Pattern.⁸ In the north the series runs from the high, peaked curve of New England through the much lower and flatter curves of the Middle Western and Mountain divisions to the very high irregularly peaked curve of the Pacific. In the south the peaked curve of the South Atlantic, the low, flat curve of the East South Central, and the higher, irregularly peaked curve of the West South Central division form a similar series. Moreover, the peaks of the curves, for both North and South, occur in a temporal series related to this Diffusion Pattern. The series from New England to the Pacific is 1922, 1922, 1923, 1923, 1927, 1923. The southern series is 1924 (no peak yet), 1924. In other words diffusion intensity seems related to the path that diffusion has taken.

In Figure III diffusion intensity is presented for classes of communities by time periods.⁹ Again we find that the national curve is poorly representative of its constituent curves. The demographic trend within the Diffusion Pattern¹⁰ is plainly seen by examining the values of the 1915 ordinate. The sequence is from urban to rural and metropolitan communities to non-metropolitan communities in order of their size. The peaks and heights of the curves also vary in general with this Pattern. Metropolitan cities reach

⁷ It may even be that recording social data in time series is too crude a method to obtain consistent results. This research procedure means that the social series is given as a function of chronological time. The general curve equation $y=f(x)$ becomes $y=f(t)$. In our example $D=f(I, P)$ becomes $D=f(t)$. Crude physical time is thus used as an index of the complex network of dynamic cultural relations producing the diffusion. The validity of this procedure is tacitly assumed, but has never been demonstrated. At a time when crude solar time is undergoing attack from physicists, biologists and chemists, bringing demands or suggestions for new physical, physiological and chemical times, it may well repay social scientists to examine this problem for their field. A "social time" in terms of cultural dynamics may be a necessary replacement in time series work before our curves are scientifically useful. We should not forget that the present technique is merely a simple and culturally permissive expedient.

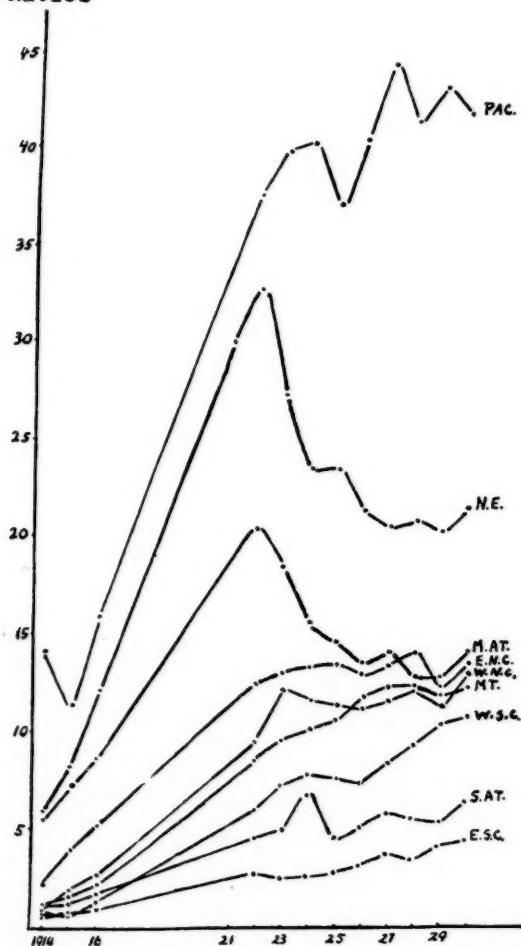
⁸ See footnote 3.

⁹ These, rather than years, were the time units of the original study. The values are placed here on the 1915, 1923, and 1928 ordinates. The census division curves are included to facilitate comparisons with Figure II.

¹⁰ See footnote 3.

the highest intensities and decline the fastest. Non-metropolitan cities over 5,000 reach flatter peaks, while those under 5,000 have increasing intensities throughout.

FIGURE II. RADIO AMATEURS PER 100,000 POPULATION FOR CENSUS DIVISIONS, 1914-1930.*
Ratios



* The national curve is omitted to avoid confusion because of its proximity to the E.N.C. The 1921 values are omitted, except for New England, because we are not concerned here with the effect of such a crisis as the World War on diffusion. Our data however, do bear out, in a general way, Dr. Pemberton's results in *American Sociological Review*, Feb. 1937.

On the basis of Figures II and III we seem justified in enlarging our crude inference concerning diffusion intensity to read as follows: Diffusion intensity seems to follow a multi-cyclical course, each cycle presenting a fairly regular curve that inclines upward to a saturation peak, then levels

FIGURE III. RADIO AMATEURS PER 100,000 POPULATION FOR VARIOUS CLASSES OF COMMUNITIES, BY TIME PERIODS.*

Ratios



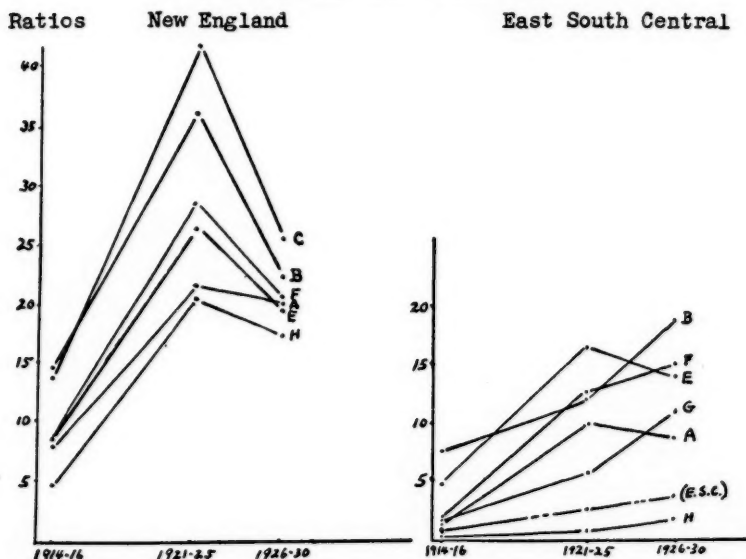
* Metropolitan communities are those included in the Census of Metropolitan Districts in 1930. They are represented by "Met" in Figure III. The non-metropolitan communities are represented by "Non." The "under 5,000" category is considered "rural" here.

off or declines. The characteristics of the cycles will vary in direct relation to the position of their research units in the Diffusion Pattern. We shall refer to this generalization as the *Diffusion Cycle*.

It is possible to extend our analysis by dissecting the divisional curves of Figure II into their constituent community curves, and the community curves of Figure III into their constituent divisional curves. This may also throw some light on the relative importance of the divisional and community variables for such research.

In Figure IV the New England community curves follow their national curves of Figure III in two respects. First, the urban ordinates are consistently higher than the rural and the metropolitan under 100,000 than

FIGURE IV. RATIOS OF RADIO AMATEURS PER 100,000 POPULATION BY TIME PERIODS, FOR THE CONSTITUENT COMMUNITY CLASSES OF TWO CENSUS DIVISIONS, NEW ENGLAND AND THE EAST SOUTH CENTRAL.*

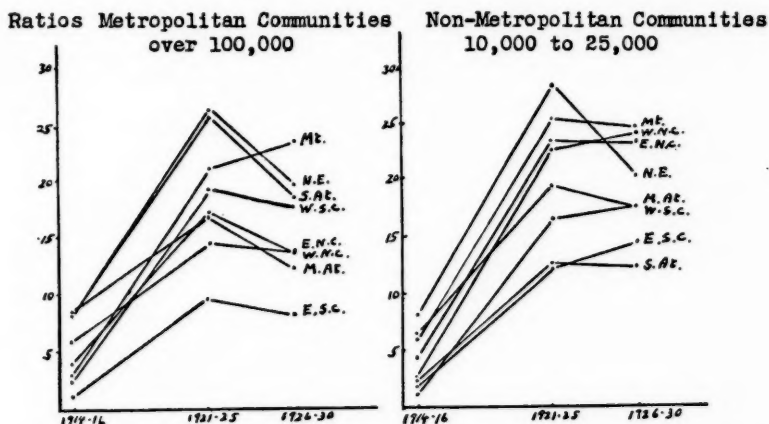


* The division curve for New England is omitted because of its overlapping with curve F. The letters represent classes of communities as follows: A—over 100,000; B—metropolitan 25,000 to 100,000; C—metropolitan 10,000 to 25,000; E—non-metropolitan 25,000 to 100,000; F—non-metropolitan 10,000 to 25,000; G—non-metropolitan 5,000 to 10,000; H—all communities under 5,000.

the non-metropolitan. Secondly, the metropolitan curves are the more highly peaked as in Figure III. However, the influence of the Division seems definitely present in that all the curves except A are much more peaked than in Figure III. The Divisional curve, almost identical with curve F, is more typical of its constituents than was the national curve of its constituents in Figures II and III, and suggests a homogeneity in New England sufficient to provide some validity for the use of such a divisional

variable. Other divisions show similar, but in general, less impressive homogeneity. One of these is the East South Central Division shown in Figure IV. Although this divisional curve does not seem very typical of its components, its influence seems to have definitely lowered the ordinates of all, and noticeably depressed all peaks except those of curves E and A. This influence appears at least as strong as that of the community variable (cf. Figure III).

FIGURE V. RATIOS OF RADIO AMATEURS PER 100,000 POPULATION, BY TIME PERIODS, FOR THE CONSTITUENT DIVISIONAL CURVES OF TWO CLASSES OF COMMUNITIES.*



* The Pacific Division is omitted to save space. Its ordinates are as follows: 21, 47, 48 for cities over 100,000; 27, 76, 51 for non-metropolitan 10,000-25,000.

In Figure V we find the same variation that has been present in all previous figures except that for New England in Figure IV. In general the community variable seems predominant in the category over 100,000, while the divisional variable is more important in the non-metropolitan group 10,000 to 25,000. In the former, most of the constituent curves are moderately peaked as is true of the national curve for cities over 100,000, while only two of the divisional components (N.E. and E.S.C.) are placed in the order expected from Figure II. In the latter, every curve approximates its Figure II parent in type, and the order of their ordinates is somewhat closer to Figure II than is the case for the former.¹¹

Thus, although urbanism and metropolitanism must be considered important variables underlying differential diffusion intensity, they are certainly not more important than something represented here by census divi-

¹¹ Their order shows the five northern divisions above the three southern ones, although within these broad categories there is some shuffling.

sions. Both may perhaps be considered rough indices of cultural variables, community and sectional differences within the culture pattern.

Causal Analysis of the Diffusion Cycle. An analysis of the underlying factors producing such cycles of diffusion intensity can be done only in the simplest terms here. Our hypothesis suggests that any measure of success depends upon obtaining data on the interaction between the invention and the culture pattern. For the individual radio amateur this means obtaining data on the causal influences which played upon his cultural background. Thus we proceeded by obtaining a national sample of diffusion case-histories, requesting each person to list what he considered the important causal influences in his case, in their historical order.¹² These causal influences were classified in two ways: first, personal and non-personal (mainly printed material) influences; second, influences connected with the invention (radio amateurs, amateur radio literature, etc.) and those connected with the culture pattern (newspapers, popular magazines, physics courses in high schools, commercial and government radio stations and their operators, etc.).

The problem of correlating these influences with the *Diffusion Cycle* was handled by obtaining sub-samples which would give us data at various points of the *Diffusion Cycle*. In Table I the cases of diffusion before 1916

TABLE I.—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CAUSAL INFLUENCES IN THE DIFFUSION OF AMATEUR RADIO, FOR TWO POINTS ON THE DIFFUSION CYCLE (BEFORE 1916 AND AFTER 1925)

Causal Influence	Before 1916	After 1925
Personal*	23	51
Non-Personal	77	49
Total	100	100
Amateur Radio (I)	23	73
Culture Pattern (P)	77	27
Total	100	100

* This is confined to significant personal aid, hence includes only radio amateurs. Whatever causal stimulus was secured from salespeople at stores or a ship operator at sea was classified as "institutional," and included in the non-personal category.

and after 1925 are separated. According to Figure I the "before 1916" group should give us an idea of causal influences in the beginning phase of a cycle, and the "after 1925" group should give a similar causal picture of the last phase of a cycle. An inspection of Table I shows clearly the increased impor-

¹² For an analysis of the representativeness of this sample see R. V. Bowers, 1934, Appendix B. Three hundred and twenty replies were received of which 312 are used in the following tables.

tance of personal and amateur radio (I) influences in the later phase and the decreased importance of impersonal and existing cultural (P) influences.

The reliability of this inference can be roughly determined by reclassifying the data to see if the same result is obtained. Since most of the informants came into radio after 1925, the only additional way of presenting the data at various points of the *Diffusion Cycle* involved classifying the causal influences according to the community in which they were active and classifying these communities according to the stage of the cycle they had attained at that time. Some of the informants claimed to be "the first radio amateurs in town" so they provide us with a group of communities at the beginning of their diffusion cycles. A second group of informants underwent their recorded causal influences in communities over 50,000 population, and these communities, according to Figure III, would be in the most advanced stage of their diffusion cycles after 1925. To secure a group of communities in the intermediate or "upswing" stage of the diffusion cycle, we shall use the causal histories of all informants in communities under 10,000 population.¹³ A further classification into non-metropolitan and metropolitan informants will constitute a second rough division at two points of the diffusion cycle—the "upswing" and declining stages.¹⁴

Table II is confined to those choices the informants listed as their "first causal influences." It is seen that the farther along the diffusion cycle a

TABLE II. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST CAUSAL INFLUENCES IN THE DIFFUSION OF AMATEUR RADIO FOR CLASSES OF COMMUNITIES USED AS INDICES OF VARIOUS POINTS ON THE DIFFUSION CYCLE*

Causal Influence	New Diffusion Towns	Places under 10,000	Places over 50,000	Non-metro- politan	Metro- politan	U. S.
Personal	29	42	60	46	57	50
Non-Personal	71	58	40	54	43	50
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Amateur Radio (I)	37	51	73	56	69	61
Culture Pattern (P)	63	49	27	44	31	39
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Number of cases by columns: 38, 139, 107; 175, 137; 312.

community is, the more its diffusion seems to depend on persons and the invention itself, that is, on past diffusion. The sequence obtains for the first

¹³ Since most of these cases are non-metropolitan and under 5,000 population, they are best represented by the "under 5,000" curve in Figure III.

¹⁴ These expedients, of course, introduce other variables such as size of community.

series, and for the metropolitan, non-metropolitan series, and verifies the results of Table I.

Table III presents the data for all causal influences. The same trend is present, although greatly reduced.

TABLE III. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL CAUSAL INFLUENCES IN THE DIFFUSION OF AMATEUR RADIO FOR CLASSES OF COMMUNITIES USED AS INDICES OF VARIOUS POINTS ON THE DIFFUSION CYCLE

Causal Influence	New Diffusion Towns	Places under 10,000	Places over 50,000	Non-metro- politan	Metro- politan	U. S.
Personal	43	46	55	47	54	50
Non-Personal	57	54	45	53	46	50
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Amateur Radio (I)	65	68	76	69	75	72
Culture Pattern (P)	35	32	24	31	25	28
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Thus, if the rudimentary results of Tables I to III are assumed to be reliable, a simple causal analysis of the course of diffusion intensity within any research unit can be offered. As diffusion proceeds, causal influences generated by the invention increase in importance. The diffusion, in other words, becomes more organized and proselytizing as it becomes entrenched. At first it is dependent mainly on chance contacts of relevant personal backgrounds with the general cultural disseminators of new ideas. Diffusion successes provide persons to facilitate subsequent diffusion, whose success in turn may finally result in a local radio club, periodicals in the local libraries, etc. Thus diffusion machinery, explicit or implicit, comes into existence and the diffusion cycle inclines upward. The levelling off of the cycle is inevitable as the potential objects of diffusion become rarer, resulting in diminishing returns for the activity of the agents of diffusion.

This elementary analysis does not, of course, provide a means of determining the specific cycle of any selected research unit. For this, more detailed data will be necessary concerning the interaction between the invention and the culture of that unit. An example may be suggested. Mechanical and social developments in amateur radio (I) between 1920 and 1925 coincided with the rise of radio broadcasting in the culture pattern (P). The effects of these changes were to augment the diffusion. The augmentation, however, was not uniform. In the large cities this stimulus to diffusion was partially counteracted by increased radio interference among radio amateurs, increased hostility from the broadcast public for alleged interference with their reception, and increased competition for new members

from the less exacting recreation of broadcast listening. Hence, at a time when diffusion peaks were soaring due to social changes in I and P, that of the largest cities was held back somewhat by special counteracting factors.¹⁵

In conclusion, the present analysis is a far cry from a determinate, mathematical statement of diffusion, if that will ever be possible. Nevertheless, the diffusion equation has been a useful guide, and has proved itself amenable to conceptual refinement. Science must proceed for the most part by successive approximations, and this analysis is offered merely as one such approximation.

¹⁵ This, of course, was not an entirely fortuitous circumstance. Our Diffusion Pattern generalization would lead us to expect that competition between amateur radio and any later "functionally analogous" invention such as broadcast listening would occur first in the large, metropolitan centers.

THE TEACHING USES OF A SOCIOLOGY MUSEUM

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THE USE of visual aids in teaching is not new, but the broad application and wide acceptance of such techniques is a comparatively recent development. Educators are becoming more and more aware of the limitations and dangers inherent in verbalism and are casting about for remedies. At the same time, newly developed mechanical devices for visual representation have appeared to facilitate progress and to invite experimentation. The result has been a ready acceptance of whatever visual aids lay at hand. This has frequently meant a superficial and uncritical application of such techniques, or a particularistic enthusiasm for some one type of visual device or method. Such a limited view of the possibilities of visual methods, however, is now passing, and in its stead is developing the conclusion that no single device or method can be used to the exclusion of all others, but that a whole battery of visual aids, co-ordinated for a maximum utility, is the essential technique. It is such a battery of visual aids, as applied to the teaching of sociology, which this paper aims to discuss.

The field of sociology has, to a considerable degree, become concerned with contemporary reality. It treats phenomena which are essentially alive and dynamic. It covers a territory in which facts and principles are continually evolving and rapidly increasing. And more than many other subjects, perhaps, it is in need of flexible methods for disseminating its accumulating knowledge.

In its broadest sense, the social, or sociological museum is a collection of graphic materials, illustrative of sociological facts and principles, organized for teaching purposes. A department of sociology which provides itself with a well-organized set of visual aids, together with facilities for their exhibition, construction, and storage may appropriately be considered to have established a sociology museum.

In its educational purpose and method, the social museum is comparable to the museum of natural sciences. Instead of the fossils, type specimens, and life models which have characterized such institutions, however, the sociology museum is built up of charts, maps, photographs, and similar auxiliary material. The sociology laboratory is one element of such an institution and is essentially a workshop where materials which lend themselves to student projects are handled informally and conveniently. In a functional sense, the museum is an agent of communication, employing visual symbols to obtain a greater expressiveness in the interpretation of social phenomena.

The museum referred to in this paper was organized as the result of dissatisfaction with a more desultory use of visual methods. It represents an attempt to co-ordinate a wide variety of visual materials such as maps, charts, photographs, slides, moving pictures, dioramas, transparencies, models, primitive artifacts, and various objects from contemporary culture. Its physical facilities include a workshop, a storeroom, an office, and several exhibit rooms. One of the exhibit rooms is equipped with chairs, blackboard, and projection lantern for class use. The other rooms are supplied with reading tables, pamphlet and magazine racks, exhibit cases, swinging panels for charts, and several types of electrical devices for the automatic exhibition of pictures and charts.

The exhibits fall into two categories according to their use. There are items which are designed to be used on the same basis as regular textbook assignments, and there are other materials which are intended only for background information. One of the large problems of the museum is that of so designing and balancing materials that they may serve their specific purpose.

The advantages which the social museum adds to the ordinary quiz, lecture, and textbook method of instruction are several. One of the most obvious values is found in the graphic representation of situations which are not generally experienced by the student. Since society, as C. H. Cooley has pointed out, is essentially dramatic, it appeals to the imagination and lends itself readily to vivid portrayal. Truthful teaching cannot overlook this dramatic quality in social phenomena. Delinquent careers, gang habitats, interstitial areas, conflict situations, the process of invention, transitional culture forms, stranded communities, and many other phenomena are, through charts and pictures, given vitality and meaning.

Visual devices, too, are an almost indispensable aid where the student is to be introduced to statistical, or other quantitative material. It has become an increasingly accepted principle with American teachers of sociology that the use of numbers is necessary for an understanding of the complexities of modern society. But, in practice, it is found that the average undergraduate is unable to use numbers with ease or understanding. Beginning students come to sociology without preparation in the use of statistics, often without acquaintance with the simplest of numerical devices. The remedy is not necessarily to be found in a progressive simplification of the content of the course, nor in requiring the student to master the elements of statistics before admission. The need of the student at this stage of his development is for experience and drill with quantitative material, for an illumination of principles, and for an appreciation of the reality of statistical measures. Many quantitative expressions are used for their value in comparisons alone, and their translation into numbers may not be necessary at all.

The experiences of the student, too, should be of a graded order, lest unfamiliar formulae and statistical tables become an assault upon his ego. Lacking technical number-knowledge, the average student is apt to lack self-confidence and to develop negative attitudes toward such materials. He is in need of motivation and encouragement. The museum method has a distinct advantage in that it facilitates a gradualness in the presentation of quantitative material and gives it a dramatic note through the use of form and color. The initial adventure with such material, moreover, may be made within the group, either in or out of class. The approach, as a consequence, is usually informal and natural, and hence more pleasing, for group acceptance promotes favorable attitudes even among the more diffident students.

A number of special advantages are possible because of the flexibility of museum materials. Unlike the pages of a book, the graphic materials are separable from one another and permit choice as to arrangement. Outmoded items may be discarded, and new, more effective combinations may constantly be made. The mechanical flexibility of the graphic materials also facilitates a comparison of data. By placing charts in new juxtapositions, relationships may often be shown more clearly and dramatically than is possible by a lecture or printed text. Modern teaching, more than ever before, aims at the comprehension of relationships and the development of proper "gestalts." These are best gained through a method of comparison and contrast.

The museum is able, also, to present research materials to the student without requiring a disproportionate amount of outside reading. Frequently local surveys of considerable sociological interest and teaching value are not published, and hence are not available to the student. Charts and other graphic items made from these surveys may be of considerable use in exploring the local environment. Many valuable monographs, too, are so technical that they can be used by the elementary student only after toilsome and tedious effort. Through the condensation and simplification of such material in the museum, these researches may be presented at the student's level. The valuable information gathered by the Institute of Social and Religious Research on urban and rural churches is an example of such material.

In the DePauw Social Museum, the chart-series has been found especially useful. Such a set is usually composite in character, consisting mainly of graphs, maps and photographs. The method has been applied to "Middletown," to "Recent Social Trends," to several rural community studies, to the family and divorce, and to other subjects, which in their published forms are not altogether suitable for undergraduate reading, but which lend themselves readily to museum use.

The carefully developed graphic series, based on recognized researches,

also gives the student a sense of being close to the *origins* of social knowledge. This is in part because he sees the museum materials frequently and in familiar surroundings, and in part because he gains a better understanding of them from the charts than from the printed matter alone. The presentation of basic materials from important researches allows the student to make inferences for himself and promotes self-confidence in judging questions of social reality.

Some material requires review and drill for complete assimilation. Certain facts and principles must be recalled, both in introductory and advanced classes, a score of times. The ease with which museum materials may be handled facilitates this process, also. Exhibits, too, must be timed in terms of their known effects upon the student and in view of the purpose of the course. Some exhibits in the DePauw Museum are now permanent. They are always in place and available for ready reference, both in and out of classes. Some are left in place for a semester, and others are shown for but two weeks. Still others are merely displayed in class, or are handed around for personal inspection, once only. The proper time to be given each item is, of course, a question which is constantly under surveillance.

Incidentally, it may be said that the wall-chart has proved to be the most useful single device in the museum. Its size, form, and color may readily be designed to fit special purposes and irrelevant detail may easily be omitted, a condition which it is difficult to achieve with photographs. Several hundred charts are used in the DePauw Museum in the course of a year.

Not the least of the values of the sociology museum is the opportunity it affords for developing spontaneous discussion among students. The museum not only stimulates a more general classroom participation, but it provides opportunity for out-of-class discussion by the students, away from the presence of the instructor. In such discussions the student comes to feel that the subject being treated is accepted at his own volition, and as such is worthy of independent thought. Moreover, the opinions he, himself, expresses will seem more real to him than anything which may come from the lips of his instructor or from the pages of his text. In view of the controversial character of much of what must be taught in sociology courses, independent student expression needs to be encouraged if dogmatism is to be avoided. The present elective system, with its wide range of courses, and the free choice of residence which is permitted college students, makes it unlikely that the student will find his acquaintances in the same courses at the same time as himself, and thus available for friendly discussion. It is not contended that even the best-equipped museum will stimulate all students, but such a meeting place furnishes an opportunity for the exchange of ideas under favorable conditions, and many students do take advantage of it.

No discussion of a sociology museum would be complete without an

acknowledgment of the services rendered by the *Bildstatistik*, or *International Picture Language* of Dr. Otto von Neurath. This system, which originated with Dr. Neurath and his colleagues in Vienna, in 1925, uses picture-symbols to appeal directly to the visual sense. It consists of a carefully developed and standardized series of graphic symbols, which, taken together, constitute an internally organized and orderly language system. The picture-symbols always have some similarity to the visual images associated by the individual with such subjects in real life. And both form and color are given meaning in them.

The development of this method took place because of a conviction on the part of Dr. Neurath and his colleagues that words and writing were inadequate as a form of communication. To them, words and numbers seemed to be but incomplete expression—undemocratic and class-restricted. The new method was designed to portray social facts in a form which might be readily recognized and understood by persons of all nationalities and languages. It aims, as Dr. Neurath says, to give a schematic representation of the social situation, to be rid on the one hand of pure abstraction and, on the other, of crude fact. Its purpose, he says, is to combine all that is essential in such a way that it may be understood at a glance.

The advantages of the Neurath method do not become fully apparent until they have been used for some time. An initial difficulty, and one which causes criticism of the method, is due to the tendency for those who are familiar with statistics to approach the new-type charts with number systems in mind. Students were found who thought that they had meticulously to count the figures in a chart; whereas, the whole genius of the new method is in its encouragement of direct visualization of comparative quantities. For the above reason it was frequently found that students with the least knowledge of statistics learned to use the new charts more readily than did their more sophisticated colleagues.

The Neurath system is well adapted to presentation of the facts of population growth and change, to trends in rural and urban society, and to many other kinds of information which it is desirable for beginning students to know. When materials adapted to the content of American courses have been developed, it is likely that the pictorial method will be found to be a satisfactory language system for the student and an aid in bridging the gap between a lack of statistical knowledge and a mastery of such techniques. The student who takes up mathematical statistics after careful training in the pictorial system has already acquired a significant basis for the intelligent use of mathematical devices. He has already gained a clear picture of societal phenomena which cannot be distorted while he is mastering the technical knowledge with which he hopes to study them further.

The scope of this paper does not permit the detailed consideration of the whole problem of visual education, but some of the more common criticisms

of visual methods must not be overlooked. Some instructors have objected to graphic materials on the ground that the devices "swamp the student with facts"; others contend on the contrary that they "make the course too easy"; or that they tend to result in superficiality, propagandizing, or biased emotional reactions. Such criticisms betray a misunderstanding of the scope and function of graphic methods. These techniques are, after all, devices for communication and not determiners of content. As used in the teaching of sociology, they are intended to be supplementary aids, and their wide use, especially their integration with the other elements of a course of study, must naturally be a result of an extended period of experimentation.

It is true that there is a temptation to add new devices to a course while still keeping all of the old elements, and that this will tend toward overloading, but this is a fault in application. Where visual material does the work of words, words should be eliminated. It is also true that our textbooks and academic systems have not been devised to fit in neatly with an extensive visual program, but this may yet be done. As to the danger of propagandizing and producing biased emotional reactions, one may ask, "Why should it be thought that words alone are free from such danger?"

The objection to a visual program on the ground that sociology courses should deal with principles and theory, and that visual materials merely cram the student with facts, involves broader issues. Some instructors hold that the undergraduate course should contain a minimum of formal theory and a maximum of concrete fact, sixteen parts of the latter to one of the former, perhaps; others insist that theoretical principles are the essential thing. This is not the place for a discussion of the proper content of a course in sociology, but to both the school of "theory" and the school of "fact," it may be pointed out that the world of thought is not divided into two parts, the one concrete and the other abstract. Every specific fact contains the germ of an abstraction, and every abstraction bears some relation to a limited reality. Graphic symbols may be made to serve both ends. They may be general as well as specific in meaning, and can teach theory as well as fact.

Objections to visual methods on the ground of their additional cost are valid, but they are relevant only if it be taken for granted that present funds represent a limit which may not be passed. The surest way to increase the resources available for the teaching of sociology may be to develop better methods which will make their own appeal for support. At the present time, new materials and techniques are developing rapidly, and constitute an opportunity for the improvement of teaching methods which should not be overlooked.

It is still too early to make a final evaluation of the total good to be derived from an extensive use of graphic materials in the teaching of sociology. The present is a time for experimentation and co-operative effort rather

than for conclusive findings. There is a danger that the continual increase in the number and kind of visual materials will bring a deluge of poorly designed and inaccurate exhibits. Observations have shown that visual methods often are injured most in the house of their friends. Careless and indiscriminate use of graphic materials, the lack of proper balance and integration among them, often leads to dissatisfaction and a general condemnation of all visual methods which is unjustified. Already Dr. Neurath's fine method is being injured by the thoughtless activities of those who, not knowing his principles, misuse them. The dumping on the mind of visual symbols with a dozen different meanings, and the indiscriminate production of graphic materials by commercial agents may result in a reaction against them. The teaching museum, therefore, which will experiment and engage in a careful analysis of its methods and results has a broad social function to perform.

THE COUNTRY WEEKLY AS A SOCIOLOGICAL SOURCE*

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THE NEWSPAPER, record of passing events, chronicling the follies and wisdom of a people, is pregnant with meaning, and should not lightly be cast aside." This remark, made in 1859 by the editor of a New England weekly newspaper, is significant because of its applicability to the large number of weeklies published in small American communities for the past seventy-five years or more. The typical country weekly, in addition to its personal journalism, its boiler plate fillers, its articles on extraordinary or exciting local events, is a series of chatty confidences about the town's everyday living. Its few pages are packed with columns headed "Local Items" or "Personals" or "People We Know." These columns contain all the miscellany of the community's ordinary and expected events: its births, marriages, and deaths; its comings and goings; its family and club changes; above all, the non-economic, leisure activities of its members. The presence of these items has been the *sine qua non* of such journals since their inception in the mid-nineteenth century. They seem to possess some element which resists innovation. A sample item in an 1857 issue reads: "The young ladies of the parish arranged for a surprise donation party last Thursday evening for the Rev. Mr. North. They carried, by sled, a barrel of flour. Over sixty were present. Oysters and ice cream were provided, and when the gathering departed a purse of \$78.00 was presented to Rev. North." The tradition continues in 1937 with such paragraphs as: "Mrs. A. B. Colt entertained her card group Tuesday afternoon. Four tables were present. Mrs. M. N. Stiles and Mrs. H. B. Green were the high scorers."

Yet, the country newspaper, consistent and detailed register though it may be, has been given very little consideration as a possible source for sociological research. Rural sociologists have, to be sure, made some use of it from the point of view of social control. And some students of community life have pointed out its historical value, but with little real appreciation of the potentialities of its regular and repeated offerings. J. M. Williams, for instance, in *An American Town*, claims that the newspaper is one of his sources; but he does not explain how he uses it, nor does he show detailed enough results to suggest that his use of it was in any way exhaustive. The Lynds give the following methodological note in *Middletown*: "The two

* The following paragraphs, which pretend to be nothing but an extended methodological note, set forth some considerations which arose out of the writer's recent study of the leisure-time activities of a Maine community of about seven thousand persons.

leading daily papers were read in detail for the full years 1890 and 1891 . . . The two current Republican dailies and the Democratic weekly were read and clipped during the year and a half of the study . . . Frequent use was made of the papers in 1900, 1910, and other intervening years." Thus the development from Williams to the Lynds in the use of the newspaper has not been marked. In the case of both of these works, each of which is a pioneer in its own right, the newspaper has been used more for the purpose of corroborating other data, than for a record of events which was in itself sufficient for analysis, week by week, and year by year.

A departure from this tradition, then, throws the burden of proof upon the investigator who would claim that the weekly newspaper is a sociological source of the first importance. Its desirability as a source is indubitable. Obviously such a paper has two advantages over most other sources available for the various kinds of community studies: In the first place, it provides material for the intensive study of trends from an historical standpoint; and this material is so consistent and repetitive in nature that, with the employment of proper precautions, it lends itself in a number of ways to quantification. In the second place, the weekly offers the sociological investigator the possibility of avoiding any marked bias in his selection of material. Convenient as this source may be, however, its importance may be more questionable. This depends upon the accuracy of its data, and the degree to which they actually are consistent over time. Thus any estimate of its importance must rest upon a broader knowledge of the nature of the country weekly itself.

With the Civil War, or slightly before it, a new era began in small-town journalism: it became the aim of the newspaper to present local matters. In general, the interest in "causes" was abandoned. The great number of temperance sheets and anti-slavery journals began to diminish. The personal journalism inherited from the days of Addison was on the wane; editors confined themselves less and less to eulogies of beauty and tirades against morals. The newspaper became, on the whole, a chronicle, largely local in scope and with a decreasing amount of editorial comment. The country editor ceased to be a moralist, and became a reporter.

A number of students of social life later became interested in the significance of this type of newspaper, and a mass of material was published on the subject, particularly during the second decade of the present century. These writings showed particular interest in the future of such journalism in America. Many of them were frank briefs for the country weekly and contained suggestions for improvement and reform. They pointed out that the newspaper could become a potent factor in furthering the process of socialization within a community. Perhaps the best work along these lines was that of Malcolm D. Willey who investigated 35 Connecticut weeklies during 1922. Although these writings differ greatly in their remedial pro-

posals and in their answers regarding the future of the country weekly, they agree largely as to what the nature of this type of sheet is, though not as to what it ought to be.

One of the best ways to appreciate the peculiar nature of the country weekly is to compare it with the metropolitan daily. James E. Rogers who published *The American Newspaper* in 1909, says: "Obviously it is absurd to assert that a small four-paged country journal . . . in any way compares with the huge twenty-four paged daily of a large city . . . we find both as regards size and influence, that 'the power of the press' rests absolutely with our cities and not with the country." Certainly if "the power of the press" is interpreted to indicate the influence which it has in the formation of public opinion on world or national problems, there is no argument between Rogers and the other writers on this subject. Disregarding the frequent attempts to "urbanize" the country weekly, there is a general consensus of opinion that it is primarily concerned with local affairs and with the events which are fully expected, rather than with the "scoop" and with "news" in the journalistic sense. As Willey says: "It is printed for a relatively homogeneous constituency. It cannot afford, or hope to compete with the highly organized city press. It is of necessity a local institution. It must meet local needs . . . Its very life depends upon its being a community paper; this is its function." In short, the resident of the small community expects to read, in his weekly sheet, about the activities of his neighbors and about the events which have or will take place within the community.

It is interesting to note that this estimate of the country weekly is not confined to those who have observed it from the theoretical standpoint with the idea of forming a general opinion. The many editorial comments and statements of the editor of a sample Maine weekly, for example, give complete corroboration for this belief in a local emphasis. The editor in 1859 exhorted his subscribers to save their papers because of their value as a record of passing events. A few weeks later he wrote, "Look at our paper for this week, and say where you think, reader, you could get the information upon *local* matters which we furnish? Will the *New York Tribune*, the *Ledger* give it? Most assuredly not."

If the country weekly tends to put its emphasis on local events, it also stresses many of those occurrences which are frequently repeated and which are familiar to, and hence expected by, the readers. In this connection, it is interesting to note Willey's study of the content of Connecticut weeklies, in which he develops an elaborate method for measuring what he calls "the stability of the news." That is, he is interested in "the persistency and consistency with which the several types of reading matter occur." He tabulates newspaper content according to several categories for every other month during the year 1922, and proceeds to raise the question as to

whether the amount of news in the various categories shows monthly variation from the yearly average. He finds that there is considerable monthly, but more especially seasonal fluctuation. The next question he raises is: are there marked differences among the categories in the extent of variation? "If so," he concludes, "then some types of material are more constant than are others in the amounts included in the country papers by the editors." These differences are expressed by coefficients of the extent of variation in stability. Some of the coefficients which he considers important are: Political 0.21; Economic 0.11; Cultural 0.14; Sports 0.23; Opinion 0.06. The category which he calls "Personal" he does not see fit to include among the more important types of news; yet it has the lowest coefficient of all, 0.05.

Of particular interest is his conclusion that "the country editors tend to print news that is apparent . . ." This explains the fact of a very low coefficient for "personal" news. "The personal news," he says, "is found in the papers in proportions that suggest reasonably adequate reporting, . . . it is evident that of all types of news this class is the most adequately represented in the columns of the weekly press." For purposes of investigating a number of aspects of community life, this type of item is of incalculable importance, so that from this point of view a fundamental disagreement with Willey is necessary when he evaluates personal news as of "the least significance."

Millard VanMarter Atwood, in his book *The Country Newspaper*, suggests more plainly the import of this type of news which is so peculiarly characteristic of the small-town paper. He says, "the personal item has always been the bulwark of the country weekly and it always will be; one cannot overlook the supreme value of the personal. That means more to rural and town readers alike, than yards of boiler plate about how the Grand Lama of Tibet eats his breakfast." Atwood's reasoning behind this conclusion is as follows: "The doings of one's friends and neighbors, even though they are already known and even though they are chronicled in the fewest words possible, never seem to lose their power to entertain." This is similar to a statement of the editor of an old New England weekly, made in 1937: "We have interpreted our field as one of strictly local news, and have stressed that even to the elimination of state, national and international news. Metropolitan dailies, the radio, and national magazines cover these fields thoroughly, but from no other source than the home-town weekly newspaper can residents of the community get strictly local news. The columns headed "'B—Locals' always have been, and still are, the parts of the *Record* most eagerly read . . ."¹

Similarly, Harris points out the emphasis of country weeklies on the local and expected event. He writes: "To the average townsman, his home and

¹ From personal letter to the author.

what goes on within a mile or two of that center is more important for more hours every day than are the doings of all the rest of the world . . . and in spite of the possibility that something halfway round the world may happen to change his accustomed life and thought, the average man tends to take a deeper and deeper interest in events as they approach the sphere of his daily life."

Thus it becomes clear that the characteristic element of the small-town paper is its concern with local events, particularly with familiar and expected events. The more important question which arises from this challenges the accuracy and consistency with which it records these events. This question is very difficult to answer categorically for the reason that no two country weeklies have had the same history nor have they pursued the same reportorial policies. Consequently, a generalized answer cannot be universally applicable. Many country weeklies fall below the average. They report inconsistently, they vary editorial policy frequently, they are careless of accuracy or negligent about omissions. Such papers clearly do not offer correct and consistent data. In general the average newspapers have, however, been regarded as accurate in the opinion of previous investigators who have either used the newspaper as a source, or who have been concerned with the newspaper from some other point of view. The evidence supplied by such opinions is, in a limited sense, applicable to all country weeklies. There is, for example, the comment by Atwood that "the local paper is practically the only historical record of the community. Public records in small places are often badly kept. But the columns of even the poorest country paper offer a continued story of the life of that community . . . The person who does not know America's small-town papers does not know rural America."

Williams' comment on the newspaper as an index of traveling seems to indicate a sensible attitude; he says: "Our source for the number of such journeys made each year is the *Blankville Times*, which, since 1875, at least, has endeavored to record every journey made by a townsman to points beyond X . . . The *Times* is not an accurate register of such phenomena, but the ratio of the number of journeys recorded to the number actually made is probably uniform from year to year, so that the figures are available for comparative purposes." Later in his study Williams again says: "The *Times* does not register the exact number of dances or theaters occurring each year, but it gives the large majority. Furthermore, the proportion registered to the whole number occurring has been about the same from year to year."

Sims apparently has equal confidence in the newspaper which he used as a source in studying *The Hoosier Village*. He writes: "In studying social pleasures the chief source of information has been *The Republican*, of which the file is complete from 1860 to 1910 . . . It is evident that practically all social functions have been reflected in its columns."

The Lynds come to a similar estimate regarding the uniformity and consistency of the news. They question the feasibility of quantifying all types of news but conclude that "the attention paid to 'personals' in the press of the smaller Middletown of the earlier day offsets somewhat the activity of the Sunday 'society editor' of today. In fact, testimony of people who knew Middletown in both periods indicates that the parties of 1890 were as thoroughly covered as those of today." These are some of the principal opinions of writers who have been concerned with the newspaper from the dynamic point of view. Willey's study, for example, which views the country weekly intensively for but a single year has little to offer by way of testimony which is of any value regarding its consistency over a longer period of time.

These men who used the newspaper as a source seem, however, to have perused it as a social history, rather than to have analyzed it as if it were a statistical record. Because of this heretofore limited use of the newspaper as a source, and because of the variation among newspapers, each paper must be judged on its own merits. It is necessary for each investigator to tap whatever corroboratory sources there are available before placing confidence in the accuracy of the files of any given newspaper. Two principal types of evidence are always available: first, statements of reportorial policy by the various owners and editors of the journal; and second, any other data against which the accuracy of the paper can be checked at different points of time, such as diaries, letters, histories, and recollections of old inhabitants. This type of verification involves detailed and careful historical research of the minutest kind. For example, in order to check the accuracy of a sample Maine newspaper, it was compared with complete diaries for three different years, of which the first was 1857. The result indicated remarkable completeness on the part of the paper. Not a single mention of a social gathering outside of family groups in any of the diaries failed to be recorded in the newspaper. The type and extent of such evidence as this would, of course, vary with local conditions.

Thus a given country weekly, in so far as it is found to be an accurate reflection of community life, records ordinary and recurring types of events, and describes in each case the elements which are common to such events. In this respect, it differs as a source from the social history, as well as from the metropolitan daily. It is, to be sure, very limited in the aspects of community life which it treats: it does not report how a man goes to work, or teaches his son to throw a ball, or spends his evening at the movies. In general, it has to do only with group activities, especially non-family group activities; and it deals rather with the leisure than with the wage-earning hours of the people. Moreover, this type of material is available only for small towns and rural districts.

Within these limitations, however, the small-town newspaper provides

a long-time record of everyday happenings, just as they occurred and every time they occurred. Moreover, these happenings are already so reduced to a common denominator that they may easily be compared over time. For instance, it may be determined with some exactness that there were three clubs existing for humanitarian purposes in X-town in 1860, and twenty-two in 1930; or that the churches gave one charity fair in 1860, as compared with seventeen charity fairs in 1930. Such facts are in some ways far more useful than those obtainable from other sources; the history would have merely said, for instance, "The Congregational Charitable Society was founded in 1843"; or, "There was a general increase in humanitarian sympathies throughout the period." And it is entirely because of the paper's concern with familiar and repeated events that such quantification is possible.

The fact that a conspicuous portion of the weekly is devoted to personal items simplifies the task of counting the number of repetitions of any given activity over a period of time. The paper usually devotes a separate item to each event, and these items are all of approximately the same length. This also obviates any necessity for weighting activities according to the amount of space allotted them by the editor.

In any particular study based upon the newspaper as a source, there are, of course, details of method, questions of weighting according to population changes or according to the number of people engaged in the activity, etc., which must be solved as they arise. In a recent study of leisure in a Maine community, the data were obtained from the newspaper by noting each mention of a leisure activity on a separate slip of paper. Each slip contained the date of issue of the newspaper, the activity reported, the persons engaging in it, the time of day (whenever this information was given), and brief notations of interesting details. No classification list was constructed until all of the data had been collected. This proved to have been a wise precaution, since the types of activities were found to fluctuate widely over time. In all, over fifty-five thousand activities extending over seventy-five years were analyzed. The analysis yielded results concerning changes in activities and changes in the form of leisure organization which could not possibly have been obtained from other sources.

In addition to the belief that the small-town newspaper gives a reasonably accurate picture of community life which lends itself in many cases to quantification, there can be no question that it has a second advantage: namely, its relative lack of bias. That is to say, whatever bias there is lies in the fact that the subscribers wanted to read certain things about themselves, or that the editor lacked insight into what the subscribers wanted because of his own idea of what was readable. As a source, its bias is at least not that of the sociologist who wants to substantiate certain preconceived notions. It cannot be induced to color its evidence by such a sociologist's

power of suggestion, nor can it be distorted to verify his notions as long as he makes use of it entirely and does not try to select. In this respect, it differs from the history which is written from a point of view and at a single point of time. It also differs, and still more sharply, from the questionnaire.

A test of the comparative merits of the newspaper and the questionnaire as sources indicates the inadequacy, as well as the subjective nature, of data obtained by questionnaire, when these data extend over any considerable period of time. Thirty-five club organizations in a given community were selected which had maintained records throughout their histories. Activity curves based upon the number of gatherings were plotted on the basis of the newspaper data, and these were compared with curves constructed from the club's own records. In each case the peaks came during the same periods of time. Several leading members from each club were then asked when the club had enjoyed its period of greatest activity. Twenty-two respondents could give no answer. Thirty-nine named periods which were absolutely wrong, as compared with four who named periods within five or ten years of the correct one. There were twenty answers which were half right; that is, which referred vaguely to broad periods including the correct date, or which told half the story by mentioning one of two distinct periods of great activity. Six answers corresponded exactly with the newspaper. Practically all the members interviewed obviously did not think back more than ten, or occasionally fifteen years, when asked to review the history of the club's activity. They were often able to describe accurately recent years; but it rarely occurred to them to describe these years in relation to the previous history of the clubs. Those few persons who made an effort to remember farther back into the past were random in their statements, and spoke, for example, of "a long time back" or "forty or fifty years ago."

It appears from this that a useful and convenient source of sociological data has not been sufficiently exploited. The student of rural and town life need not confine himself so strictly, one may suggest, to histories and public records; his methods need not be limited to questionnaires, or time budgets, or "sympathetic introspection." There is a supplement to these data and these methods which is too often overlooked: the complete files of the weekly newspaper in the country library would seem to be a source of primary importance to the sociologist investigating many aspects of community life.

A STUDY OF 738 ELOPEMENTS

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WHY do people elope?

How do such hasty and informal marriages turn out?

Elopement has received more attention in drama and fiction than in social science. To throw more light on the facts, I asked students in four classes on "The biology of family relations" at University College, University of Southern California, to collect data on elopements in the educated part of the white American population,—this restriction being intended to get at least a minimum amount of homogeneity. More than 100 students contributed these case histories; all of them were adults and most of them teachers or social workers.

At first sight the histories show such diverse motivation that one doubts how far a common classification as "elopements" is justified. Reference to the dictionaries, however, reveals that this diversity has always been recognized in the definition and that it is impossible to draw any definite lines between runaway marriages, secret marriages, sudden and impulsive weddings, and similar affairs. They have in common a lack of advance publicity, the purpose of which is usually to evade anticipated objections of one sort or another. Less than one-half of the marriages in this group are of the "classical" type in which the lover carries off the girl clandestinely from the home of her parents, because the latter object to the marriage.

Further analysis of the histories showed that it was fairly easy to divide them into five groups, according to motivation. They are thus divided in Table I.

1. *Parental Objection.* Even within this group there are many different types. In some instances the parents objected to the suitor in question, in others they objected to any marriage, being determined to keep the daughter unmarried, either from "sentimental" reasons or because they wanted her earnings. Sometimes the man might face the same difficulty. Miss A was a teacher, 30 years old, supporting her mother, married sister, and a niece. She had a number of brothers and sisters who could have shared this burden, but they were an enthusiastic unit in giving her the job and opposing any idea of marriage on her part. Her fiancé was in somewhat the same situation; whenever he spoke of marriage his mother would have a tantrum which kept her in bed for a week. They decided not to be living sacrifices any longer. An elopement was the obvious thing, and they have been happy ever since.

Perhaps the parents do not object to marriage "in principle," but feel that the girl should wait until she finishes college, or until she is older. When

she marries without their consent, they may make a virtue of necessity with the traditional, "Bless you, my children"; but not always; in one instance they are still unreconciled after 25 years. A study of these histories does not throw the most favorable light on parents, even in the best educated strata of society! In a number of instances where a marriage failed, it is apparent that the parents caused its failure and that with a little co-operation from them it would have succeeded. In the instance just mentioned the young people were attending a university a thousand miles from home. In the man's senior year they married, saying nothing about it. Each continued to receive an allowance and they lived together very comfortably on this

TABLE I. OUTCOME OF ELOPEMENTS

Motive	Happy	Doubtful	Unhappy	Totals	
				Number	Percent
Parental objection	158 45%	28	162	348	46
Publicity	84 60%	8	49	141	20
Economy	55 63%	6	26	87	12
Pregnancy	19 33%	14	25	58	8
Miscellaneous	40 39%	10	54	104	14
Totals { Number Percent	356 48	66 9	316 43	738 100	100

joint bank account, which would not have been sent to either one had the respective parents suspected the marriage. The couple now have two children of their own in college; their married life has been ideal even though its start was clouded by deceit; but neither set of parents has ever accepted the situation emotionally.

Frank and Eleanor, both about 21, eloped but were afraid to tell their parents, so they just "drifted along" until a year later they had a second and formal marriage which has turned out successfully. Their story could be matched by a dozen others.

In a number of instances the parents were determined that their daughters go to college. The daughters, after finishing high school, preferred to wed; and in order to avoid a "scene" and conflict, presented the parents with an accomplished fact. Sometimes the situation is complicated by different sets

of mores; the parents were born "in the old country" and take for granted their right to decide the children's matrimonial movements; the children are sufficiently Americanized to insist on deciding for themselves.

Frequently the trouble grows out of the parents' insistence that their daughter must have a "career." Perhaps they keep all young men away from the house; they do not want to risk having romance interfere with their determination. In this event the elopement may be largely an attempt to escape from parental domination, and may turn out badly, since the girl has had no chance to become acquainted with men and with her own emotional nature; her range of acquaintance is extremely restricted; and her choice, based largely on desperation, may be an unwise one. In one such case the mother, taking no chances, went to college with her daughter and they were room-mates for three years. During that time Julia's behavior was so exemplary that mama thought she could safely be left alone, her habits having been formed along correct lines. She had scarcely left town when Julia met a young man who persuaded her, on less than a week's acquaintance, to abandon music in his favor. He was as little prepared for marriage as she was, educationally, economically, and emotionally. The result was a tragedy.

Even when parental opposition seems abundantly justified, the results sometimes appear satisfactory to those most closely concerned. Miss B ran away to marry her uncle,—the relatives could hardly be expected to approve the match. The married couple lived together very happily (though childless) until the wife's death a quarter of a century later.

Miss C was living under sordid surroundings in a small mining town, dominated by parents who were quarreling continually with each other. When a visiting baseball team came to play the local boys she was introduced to the third-baseman and, on a few hours acquaintance, went to a nearby town and was married. The parents might well have objected to the plan, particularly as the stranger was a Roman Catholic and the girl herself a Protestant. But the experiment has been remarkably successful,—the husband is a hard worker and the wife a good home-maker. They are both wholly devoted to their home and their two children.

Still another case where the parents' objections might have seemed quite justifiable was that of a girl who was allowed no boy friends. The mother rented a room to a man twice the girl's age, thinking this would be fairly safe. The man, local representative of a national concern, took the girl out occasionally in his automobile; and one day they eloped. They had scarcely announced this on their return, and made plans for a honeymoon, when a traveling auditor unexpectedly came to town and found the bridegroom a thousand dollars short in his accounts. To avoid the scandal of prosecution and publicity, the girl's grandfather made up the shortage. The new husband was, of course, discharged from his position and next day his car was

"repossessed" as it was not paid for and he was no longer a good credit risk. The bride's father and grandfather held a family council to decide how the family name could be protected from any further revelations. They finally made up a fund, bought the couple railway tickets to a city 1500 miles distant, and advised them to start life anew. They did; and have been very happy together.

Even though, by some miracle, the marriages just described have turned out well, any parent would doubtless feel justified in opposition if a similar case arose in his own home. But a study of the marriages against parental opposition leaves, on the whole, a rather pessimistic picture of parental stubbornness, possessiveness, and selfishness,—in particular, of those traits in mothers. It lends support to the gloomy conclusions of Cottrell, that in case of difference of opinion between parents about the desirability of a marriage, young people will be safer in following the advice of father rather than that of mother; but that the happiest marriages are those in which all the parents on both sides are dead!

Of this group of marriages, a little less than half turned out to be definitely successful. It is hard to compare this with any norm, since conditions differ so widely. If they were all in Los Angeles county the showing would be good enough, for nearly half of all marriages in this county end in the divorce court. But they are not even confined to California (where one marriage out of every three is terminated by divorce); they are to a large extent representative of conditions throughout the United States. Perhaps the best available norm would be the findings in unselected marriages from the educated, white, American population, which were tabulated by other students in my classes for a different purpose, and which showed 58 percent to be happy.¹ These were marriages, however, that had been in existence for at least five years, hence some unhappy ones had already disappeared from the group by divorce within five years from the date of marriage. The true figure would be considerably less and might justify the conclusion that the record of happiness in elopements of this group is not more than ten percent lower than the average.

2. *Avoidance or Acquisition of Publicity.* This group includes many school teachers who would have been discharged (in accordance with the traditions of medieval monasticism) if the fact of their marriage had become known. They wanted at least to finish the school year. Fortunately, a more intelligent attitude toward the marriage of women is slowly making its way among Boards of Education.

Somewhat similar was the motivation of two high school students, who knew that the rules made expulsion automatic on marriage. They married

¹ Paul Popenoe and Donna Wicks, "Marital Happiness in Two Generations," *Mental Hygiene*, 21, April 1937, 218-223.

secretly in a neighboring state and did not announce the fact until after the registrar had issued the grades in June.

Occasionally the reason for avoiding publicity is that one of the parties has been recently divorced, or the subject of some scandal, and they prefer not to attract attention. Miss D, socially prominent, was united to a man whom she really knew very slightly; the lavish church wedding was the talk of the town's social circles for some weeks. Within a few months, however, she discovered that her new husband was insane and had the marriage annulled. She shortly found another mate but shrank from the publicity attending another wedding and another set of invitations to innumerable friends and acquaintances, another round of "showers" and teas, so soon after the fiasco. They went off for a surprise marriage and after nine years are very happy together.

In another state was a man poor but proud, who could not support a wife but was unwilling to have people know that his wife had to work for a living. So they were married secretly and she went ahead with her job,—went ahead with it for six years! It was then announced, not because he was any less poor or less proud but because a pregnancy forced his hand. After she stopped work for childbirth, she did not return to her job. The fact that the couple are very happy is just another evidence that "there's no accounting for tastes."

Some elope to avoid publicity; others to acquire it! In the motion picture circles of Hollywood, elopement to Yuma has almost become part of the mores. It makes a good publicity stunt,—sudden departure of an airplane; arrival in Arizona; "I pronounce you man and wife." The theory, probably correct because the local publicity men know their business, is that the newspaper-reading public pays more attention to such an event than to an ordinary wedding.

The fact that many of the elopers in this second group have legitimate or even praiseworthy motives is reflected by the high percentage of success,—sixty percent.

3. *Economy.* Many an elopement is due merely to a desire to avoid expense, fuss, and the more or less infantile and asinine customs that so often surround weddings. These with sixty-three percent successful, make the best showing of all.

In most instances the bride's parents are not in a position to provide an expensive wedding and the young people desire to save them embarrassment or distress. Miss E's maiden aunt offered to help out; she gave the girl a check for \$500 and told her she could keep everything above the actual cost of the wedding as a present. The young people,—who, one suspects, were from Aberdeen,—conferred, and had a \$5 elopement. Balance on hand, \$495.

In the case of Miss F and her fiancé, on the other hand, the scheme backfired. They had known each other for five years and had been engaged for some time. The family planned an elaborate and expensive ceremony. To avoid this, the young couple eloped. When they returned and found how much this wedding meant to the female relatives all around, they could not bring themselves to break the news, so they went ahead and had a second ceremony,—the main performance under the big tent, so to speak.

Miss G's family had made plans for a June wedding with all the accessories. In April her fiancé became so much alarmed at her exhaustion, through the social affairs to which she was being subjected, and so much appalled at the continued financial drain on all sorts of people that was evidently going to continue for the next 60 days, that he persuaded her to slip out of the state with him and be married suddenly. Five years afterward they are still extremely happy, the man proud of his strategy and the girl still a bit regretful at missing the glories of a formal wedding in the cathedral.

I have a number of histories in which the parents on both sides insisted on a big wedding but differed strongly as to how it should be held or who should be invited. The young people began to fear the life-long estrangement of the in-laws and cut the Gordian knot by eloping.

The "marriage of convenience" is a well-established institution; evidently there are also "elopements of convenience."

4. *Pregnancy.* The forced marriage is also a well-known institution, and secrecy has the advantage of allowing the date to be misrepresented later. In this series, such marriages represent not merely the smallest group, but also the least successful.

In some instances, it was doubtless anticipated that the marriage would later be resolved by a divorce, the intention being primarily to protect the girl and her child from the stigma of illegitimacy. Under present social conditions, there are cases in which this solution of a difficult problem may be regarded as the least of evils.

There are several instances in which the bride-to-be became pregnant deliberately, as a means of trapping her man or perhaps taking him away from a competitor. So far as the record shows, there is in this group only one example of a type that is not rare,—that in which the girl merely pretends to be pregnant, in order to force a reluctant boy-friend into matrimony. In this case, when Mr. H asked his friends to congratulate him on his surprise marriage they merely laughed at him, informing him that his bride had tried the same trick on half a dozen others, all of whom, however, were sophisticated or callous enough to refuse the bait. This couple divorced shortly; both later remarried unsuccessfully. A special study of "blackmail marriages" of this sort would be extremely interesting. Perhaps some of

them turn out well, but all of which I have any knowledge have been failures, though some of them lasted for a lifetime.

5. *Miscellaneous.* Most of the participants in this last group were either drunks or thrill-seekers. One would not expect much from them, and the statistics show that they do not disappoint expectation. Several married on the impulse of the moment, merely to spite someone else. Fortunately, state laws requiring a few days advance notice before a license is issued, are being more and more widely adopted and will largely do away with this particular type of matrimonial escapade.

Of the entire 738 marriages the happy ones had, at the time of report, lasted twice as long as the unhappy, the mean in the first case being 8.26 years and in the second 4.10 years. Among the happy marriages, 14 percent had occurred within 12 months prior to report. Undoubtedly some of these and other more recent marriages in the happy group, may get into difficulties, thus reducing the percentage; but enough of the doubtfuls may eventually end in the happy group to offset, at least in part, this effect.

Of the unhappy marriages, 36 percent had lasted one year or less; most of these, however, were not recent marriages but marriages which had ended in divorce or annulment proceedings within a few weeks or months.

Great statistical accuracy cannot be expected of a study of this sort, in which each case is unique. It serves, however, to document the general knowledge that there are all sorts of reasons for eloping, some laudable and some despicable, and that the success of a marriage depends not so much on the nature of the ceremony as on the quality of the people who enter into it. On the whole, the success of the elopements, measured in terms of subsequent marital happiness, is greater than one might have anticipated.

SOCIOLOGY IN ROUMANIA

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AN INVESTIGATION of the development of sociology in Roumania indicates two characteristics: that social science there has grown, in its research and influence on certain aspects of the national life, to the point nowhere else attained in the countries of southeastern Europe; and secondly, in spite of its advancement we know very little of its contributions, because for some reason or other, it is extremely difficult to secure (in the true Roumanian fashion) concrete information on its various phases even by a personal visit, not to speak of correspondence.

The best known Roumanian sociologist is Dr. Demetrius Gusti (born 1880), graduate of the Universities of Paris, Berlin, and Leipzig (doctorate 1904). In 1910 he was appointed Professor of Ethics and History of Ancient Philosophy (to which was also added the chair of Sociology) in the faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Iași. In 1918 he was elected Dean of this Faculty and re-elected in 1920. But on the first of November of that year he was transferred to the faculty of Letters and Philosophy in the University of Bucharest to fill the chair of Sociology, Ethics, Politics, and Esthetics.

His influence on public life began in 1918, when he founded "The Association of Science and Social Reform," which became The Roumanian Social Institute in 1921, and of which he is president. In 1922 he became director of The Adult Education Foundation, founded by Prince (today King) Carol of Roumania. In 1929 he was appointed President of the Administrative Council, President of the Administration of State Monopolies, President of the Administration of the Society for Radio-diffusion, and President of the Superior Council of Co-operatives. In 1932, 1933, and 1934, he was a member of the Government as Minister of Public Instruction and a Senator. Since 1934 he has been director of the Royal Carol Foundation.¹

In 1935 Gusti completed twenty-five years of his sociological work. These years are also the years of sociological teaching and investigation in Roumania. The Roumanian Social Institute published for that occasion a special issue of its yearbook in honor of its founder and president, which contains contributions of several well-known European sociologists, and of several American scholars.² Herein we find several good summaries of Gusti's main

¹ Professor Gusti holds the following honors from abroad: member of the "La Société de Sociologie," of Geneva, of "L'Institut International de Sociologie," of "The Society of Social Sciences," Tokyo, of the "Masaryk Sociological Society," Prague, and Doctor "Honoris Causa" of the University of Leipzig.

² L'Institut Social Roumain, "Mélanges D. Gusti, XXV ans d'enseignement universitaire (1910-1935)," *Archives pour la science et la réforme sociale*, I-II, XIII-XIV année, 1936.

sociological ideas³ and his contributions,⁴ together with numerous articles showing the results of monographical studies by young Roumanian sociologists, directed by Gusti, regarding the Roumanian village (the peasant budget, some aspects of the family life, the magic factor in the village life, the collective organization of the village, the beginnings of the industrialization of the Roumanian village, etc.).⁵

The fundamental ideas of Gusti's sociological system are as follows: Sociology is the science about social reality, the science stating facts and explaining them. Methodologically he emphasized the direct observation of concrete social phenomena of contemporary social life. The social reality—human reality—differs from the rest of the world with its free nature. It is a system of human activities, therefore it is a teleological system, which follows certain aims and utilizes certain means for their realization. The substance of society is its social will which gives motives to social activities. In its concrete existence, wherein this substance is realized and develops, society is composed of units, relations, and social processes. The social units are the forms of co-existence from the simple associations to complex institutions, as, for example: the family, the village, the nation, the state, etc.

The articles contributed by Americans are: C. A. Ellwood, "The Cost of Sociological Ignorance," I, 149-153; C. Galitz, "L'Orientation Nouvelle de l'Education Americaine," I, 172-179; C. E. Martin, "Problems of Individual Security and National Safety in the United States," I, 330-340.

³ Gaston Richard, "La Méthode sociologique en Roumanie: l'oeuvre du Prof. D. Gusti," *ibid.*, I, 399-407; G. Vlădescu-Răcoasa, "Professorul D. Gusti," II, 1070-1092; H. H. Stahl, "Școala monografiei sociologice," II, 1130-1165; Mircea Vulcănescu, "Dimitrie Gusti Profesorul," II, 1198-1287; Professor Secundar, "D. Gusti om public și Ministru al învățământului românesc," II, 1288-1307.

⁴ A substantial list of Gusti's publications can be found in *Ibid.*, I, 502-509. The most important works dealing with his method are: *Sociologia militans. Introducere în sociologia politică* (Militant Sociology. Introduction to Political Sociology), Bucharest, "Institutul Social Român," XII, 1935; *La monographie et l'action monographique en Roumanie* (Conférences données à l'Université de Paris. Collections de l'Institut de Droit Comparé), Paris, Domat-Montchrestien, 1935; "Sociologie românească" (Roumanian Sociology), *Sociologie Românească*, January 1936, I, 3-9; "Sociologia Monografică, Știința a Realității Sociale" (Monographic Sociology, Science of Social Reality), introduction to Tr. Herseni, *Teoria monografiei sociologice* (The Theory of Sociological Monographs), Bucharest, L'Institut Social Roumain, Serie "Études et Contributions," I, 3-72; Henri Stahl, *L'Organisation collective du village roumain*, I, 456-473, and Traian Herseni, "D. Gusti: Un système de sociologie, éthique et politique," *ibid.*, 225-241. See also: Philip E. Mosely, *The Sociological School of Dimitrie Gusti* (reprinted from the *Sociological Review*, 1936, London, 16); Traian Jonescu Niscover, "Rumunská vesnice v monografických výzkumech Prof. Dimitrie Gustiho" (Roumanian Village in the Monographical Researches of Prof. D. Gusti), *Sociologická Revue*, 1937, VIII, 1-2, 150-160.

⁵ N. Cornatzeano, "Le budget paysan," *ibid.*, I, 106-112; Xenia Costa-Foru, "Quelques aspects de la vie familiale en Roumanie," 113-118; Stefania Cristescu, "L'Agent magique dans le village de Cornova (Bessarabie)," 119-137; Jean C. Filitti, "Un Mémoire de 1857 sur les classes sociales de la Valachie," 154-164 D.; C. Georgesco, "Considérations sur l'alimentation paysanne en Roumanie," 180-210; Traian Herseni, "L'Organisation pastorale en Roumanie," 242-256; Henri H. Stahl, "L'Organisation collective du village Roumain," 456-469; G. Vlădescu-Răcoasa, "Débuts d'industrialisation d'un village Roumain," 470-473 Ap.; D. Culea, "Istoria în școlile țărănești" (History in Peasant Schools), II, 748-759; etc.

Social relations are associations within each unit. They are the relations which determine the social structure—for example: hierarchy, conflicts, co-operation, etc. Social processes are changes of the structure—individualization, centralization, differentiation, etc. The social units, endowed with a will, develop continually in various expressions. Gusti divides them topologically in two constitutive categories which form the content of social life, that is, economic and spiritual expression; and two regulative categories, that is, the political and the moral expression. The social expressions are not independent of the environment, as they happen in “frames”: in the natural frames (cosmological and biological) and in the social frames (psychic and historic). The social expressions and frames correspond to the general differentiating needs of human existence. Hence, they appear in every society and cannot be mutually reduced from each other. They always exist side by side (the law of sociological parallelism). The social reality is nothing static, but always happening. Hence, a complete study of the social reality must also include the evolutionary tendencies to the future social reality. Thus, besides sociology (the science of the present social reality), appear also the social sciences about the sociality of the future: politics and ethics.

Ethics is a science of social goals, subjected in their totality to the moral ideal, which is the perfect personality as the creator of cultural values. Politics is a science of the means needed for the realization of social values and norms. Sociology is a science about the present social reality, as it is; ethics is a science about the future social reality, as it should be; and politics is a science about the means for the realization of the future social reality. There is only a methodological difference between these three sciences; only in their sum total do they form a unified system of the knowledge of society.

The greatest influence, however, of Gusti has been in his application of his sociological theories to the study of the Roumanian peasant. Gusti has discovered the national importance of the Roumanian village and introduced it into the sphere of scientific evaluation. His sociological system and concepts opened to him the way for a surprising wealth of sociological knowledge.

As sociology, according to Gusti, is a science about facts which it must observe and explain, the social reality must be examined directly in all its relationships and details, wherein it appears. The impressionistic, speculative method is not sufficient. Sociology must observe the living reality and express theoretically its observations. It is only the monographic method which sociology can utilize successfully. Sociology must offer theories based on facts. It is necessary that it gives up the indirect method of interpreting facts gathered by others, so that it may become a living and a direct science. The monographic method gives sociology the possibility of

becoming an autonomous science side by side with other sciences already recognized as such. It is only sociology which can get to the core of things, explain them fully and systematize them. What sociology lacks is union with facts, and what social monographs lack is the sociological foundation. Monographic sociology unites theory with facts in a new synthesis, giving to the theory a foundation and to the facts a common form and a scientific structure.⁶

The social reality must be studied directly in all its aspects by the methods offered by the monographic researches. Thus disappear the differences which are usually made between the general and the special, the universal and the individual, and the analytical and the synthetic sociology.

These concepts have been supported by a number of historical and social circumstances. In the old Roumania the social problems were not so serious, being less complicated. The prewar sociology could deal with each social problem without relating it to Roumania and using it for direct usefulness. But the World War brought numerous changes. To unify the new provinces with the old country, to fuse all new people in a new state, to counter-balance the effects of their long separation, to rebuild the robbed and ruined state and repair the damages of war, to educate the newly enfranchised masses of the people, to execute agrarian, economic, and political reforms, to exploit the vast Roumanian natural wealth, to form a stronger middle class—these were some mighty tasks confronting the Roumanian people and many of them could be solved only by the aid of sociology.⁷

Added to this postwar background have been pedagogical and methodological problems. The teaching of sociology in Roumania had been, until the influence of Gusti was felt, always abstract, far from life and reality, so that it interested only a limited number of students, gifted with special theoretical knowledge. The younger generation was not satisfied with the readings which were not connected with the stream of life in Roumania. This turned Gusti and his group from emphasis on theoretical sociology to the monographical and case studies. As Gusti claims, nowhere do we find "society," but strictly limited societies; the village, the state, the city, and the nation.

All these considerations led to the decision to know more of the Roumanian village; considered in its structure as a special type of life of the Roumanian people, a national synthesis. In Roumania the village still, in most cases, lives its primitive life, with its wealth of traditions, customs, and folklore. Before the war nobody paid any attention to the peasant. The peasants had many political rights but they were isolated from other social

⁶ D. Gusti, *Sociologia Militans*, 70-72.

⁷ For a survey of various social, economic, and political problems facing Roumania, see: J. S. Roucek, *Contemporary Roumania and Her Problems*, Stanford University Press, 1932, and its classified bibliography, pp. 383-414.

classes. The village was dissociated from the radical changes of society, retaining its own laws and ancient customs. Hence, the Roumanian village is a late discovery from the spiritual standpoint. It was only after the war that the peasant began to be visited by politicians, scientists, and the collectors of folklore and folk-art.⁸

In the summer of 1925 a group of the students of the sociological seminar of Bucharest University left, under the leadership of Gusti, for a research of the village of Goicea Mare (Oltenia). The first results were most surprising. A new, unknown world offered a rich field of scientific research; new and varied problems opened new horizons with new methods of interpretation in the understanding of this social class. Hence, the experiment has been continued ever since. During the following eleven years, twenty-eight villages in twenty-two districts were examined. The first group, composed of advanced students, was increased by the addition of specialists from all fields: physicians, artists, sculptors, geographers, biologists, psychologists, folklorists, linguists, veterinarians, engineers, lawyers, economists, etc., who spent a month or two in a village during their vacations. But as these researchers can hardly get acquainted with the problems of a village in from thirty to sixty days, it was felt that they should return in subsequent years to continue their work and to consolidate their researches. Hence, the students subdivided into several groups, always led by a specialist, directing the work and co-ordinating the material. In 1935 there were twenty-eight such groups with 213 students and 114 specialists. An effort has been made to retain as many of the former members of groups as possible in order to have them specialize.

Before such groups leave for villages, they are informed about them from previous researches; in what stages these researches are and what their results are. They must get acquainted with the geographical situation of the country and prepare the working plan, with a detailed set of questionnaires which, however, are only working tools without an absolute value and which do not hinder initiative. The arrival of from fifty to sixty intellectuals into a village of 1,500-2,000, inhabitants is certainly a great occurrence in the life of the villagers. The students must overcome the initial skepticism. As most monographists are the sons of villagers and as Roumania has no great dialectic differences, the process of getting acquainted is not usually difficult. The activity begins with some cultural or artistic celebration at which the task of the group is explained. One way of getting

⁸ One of the finest things done in this respect is the permanent exhibition in Bucharest "Muzeul Satului Românesc," organized by King Carol's Cultural Foundation, where can be found typical peasant houses from each Roumanian province, which were transported there with all their furnishings, and where, in most cases, live also peasant families required to live "the old-fashioned way." The only weakness of this plan to preserve the primitive life of peasants is that, according to the observations of the author, various members of this settlement begin to be influenced by the surrounding life of Bucharest.

acquainted never disappoints: the friendships formed by the students living with villagers. The students participate in every aspect of the life of the village.

The first work in research consists of the gathering of all kinds of statistics by various subdivisions of the group. Gusti thinks that the following nine groups can perform a sociological study: the cosmological group for the study of the relations between nature and culture; the biological group for the study of the relations between life and society, with physicians to survey health and biological conditions, sanitation, social needs, etc.; the historic group, with one monographist for the study of social forms of the past and one for the analysis of traditions and social reactions in relation to the past; the psychological group, which also contains specialists for the study of child psychology and collective-psychic phenomena; the economic group; the noological group for the spiritual study of the village (religion, art, architecture, music, the moral and the intellectual life, cultural conditions, science, and folk philosophy); the legalistic group, interested in the legal conditions of property, inheritance, divorces, sales, mortgages, rents, gifts, and the folk legalistic customs; the administrative-political group; and the group of sociologists interested in the social associations (friendship and child groups), social formations (the family, religion, and neighborhood), the social institutions (school, church, and village hall). The last group also has the task of examining social authority, prestige, public opinion, social relations and conflicts, social categories, co-operatives and the social processes of urbanization, and socialization and individualization.

The activities of the monographists are co-ordinated by the group meetings and the plenary meetings. One part of the work is to secure photographs, drawings, plans, and various other materials, which are now deposited in the sociological museum. A monographical archive is attached to the sociological seminar in Bucharest, where the material is classified.

Concurrently with the research work there goes on the cultural activity of the groups. Libraries and cultural houses are founded and festivities are organized. Where they are needed are founded co-operatives, savings banks, schools provided with didactical material, medical dispensaries, etc. Roads are improved, public buildings repaired, and sick people taken care of.⁹ Thus the monographical research is combined with educational, administrative-political, and cultural and ethical accomplishments.

⁹ For good surveys of these various activities and accomplishments, see the following publications, which also contain good illustrations: D. Gusti, *Les Fondations Culturelles Royales de Roumanie*, Bucharest, Union des fondations culturelles royales, 1937; D. Gusti, Ed., *Îndrumător al Muncii Culturale la Sate*, 1936, Bucharest, Fundația Culturală Regală 'Principele Carol,' 1936; "A II-a Expoziție a echipelor regale studentești, *Catalog*," Bucharest, Fundația Culturală Regală 'Principele Carol,' 1935; "A III-a Expoziție a echipelor regale studentești, *Catalog*, 1937. The most systematic activities for the promotion of cultural life of the

Another very active sociologist is Nicolae Petrescu (1886-), Associate professor of Comparative Sociology in the University of Bucharest and Vice-President of The American Institute in Roumania, who taught several years in Reed College, Portland Oregon.¹⁰ Petrescu's sociological concept may be defined, according to his own statement, "on its theoretical side as a method of reading the phenomena of civilization, and on its practical side as an endeavor to bring about an understanding into the complex of national differentiations in contemporary sociology." In other words, sociology must be a philosophical discipline for co-ordinating all the fields of social phenomena, and at the same time it should aim at giving a clear insight into the problems which beset social life under the organization of national states. He has developed this conception in *The Principles of Comparative Sociology*, and its results have been applied in *The Interpretation of National Differentiations*. His earlier work, *Thoughts on War and Peace*, is also an attempt to elucidate the conditions and conceptions prevailing in foreign politics by pointing out the permanent anarchy existing among states, caused chiefly by nationalistic systems of education and by the mental attitudes inherent in such relations. In *Social Phenomena in the United States*, he tries to apply his method of interpretation to the social differentiation of a foreign nation, showing the relative character of national values as compared to the general and identical ground of human nature. The forthcoming monograph on England also illustrates the same method of approaching the phenomena of a foreign civilization by explaining them in terms of human values. Social environment and historical evolution, however differentiated they may be, are to be reduced to the unity of human nature, without which no understanding of the meaning of national values may be achieved.¹¹

Dr. Petre Andrei was appointed Professor of Sociology in the University

peasant are supported by the Prince Carol Cultural Foundation, founded in 1923, of which Gusti became the head in 1934. For the work of other institutions in the field of adult education, see J. S. Roucek, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-381.

¹⁰ Petrescu edits *Buletinul Institutului American* (Bulletin of the American Institute) of Bucharest, is a member of the Rationalist Press Association of London, and a member of the editorial committee of the philosophical review, *Philosophia*, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. He has published the following works: *Glanvill und Hume*, Berlin, 1911; *Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Philosophie*, Berlin, 1912; *Die Denkfunktion der Verneinung*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1914; *The Two-fold Aspect of Thought*, London, 1920; *Thoughts on War and Peace*, London, 1921; *The Principles of Comparative Sociology*, London, Watts & Co., 1924; *The Interpretation of National Differentiations*, London, Watts & Co., 1929; *Fenomenele Sociale in Statele-Unite* (*Social Phenomena in the United States*), Bucharest, 1922; *Sociologia ca Disciplina*, Bucharest, 1933; *Anglia* (in press); and numerous studies in English, American, and Roumanian periodicals.

¹¹ Petrescu emphasizes that, "my theory is not the result of an abstract construction. It is merely the outgrowth of direct experience obtained during more than fifteen years of living abroad, where I studied various nations, their civilizations and especially their ways of conduct and reaction. This led me to the conviction that the identity of substratum among the diversity of surface is a fact from which the idea of wholeness, that is, the idea of humanity may be not only understood but also inculcated upon the nationalistic mentality of contemporary man."—From a letter to the author dated July 16, 1937.

of Iași in 1922, was elected to Parliament as a member of the National Peasant Party in 1928, and was appointed Under-Secretary of State in the Roumanian Ministry of Agriculture in 1930. In 1932 he was elected Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of Iași University. He is a follower of Gusti. His ideas are mainly embodied in his *General Sociology*, 1936.¹² Due to Andrei's participation in the Peasant Party, he is considered by some Roumanian circles as somewhat of a radical, influenced by Marxism and by Wundt.

Traian Braileanu is a member of the Faculty of the University of Cernăuți and belongs to the right wing of Roumanian politics as a member of the Iron Guard. Of his numerous translations and works, we may mention his *General Sociology*,¹³ *Ethics and Sociology*,¹⁴ and *Politics*.¹⁵

The sociological approach has influenced the neighboring sciences. This is especially marked in the contributions of Dr. Dragănescu-Brates,¹⁶ Director of the Roumanian National Bank in Galatz. All the works of Professor Nicolae Iorga are really historical sociology.¹⁷

The first steps in promoting scientific social work have been taken only recently under the auspices of the sociology of Gusti. The leading spirit of these pioneer efforts has been Dr. Xenia Costa-Foru,¹⁸ who served her apprenticeship with one of Gusti's summer groups of students in a Roumanian village. She studied in the New York School of Social Work and at the University of Chicago as a Rockefeller Fellow, and today is Director of the Superior School of Social Assistance of "Princess Ilena,"¹⁹ and State Inspector of Social Work. The Association for the Progress in Social Assistance (Splaiul Unirii, Nr. 28, Bucharest) has been publishing its periodical *Asistența Socială* (*Social Assistance*), since 1931, under the editorship of Veturia Manuila and M. D. Camil.

This leads us to other sociological periodicals. The leading publication in this respect is the monthly (more frequently bi-monthly) *Roumanian Sociology*,²⁰ under the editorship of Gusti since 1936. Professor Andrei has edited since 1935, *Sociological Notes* (*Insemnări Sociologice*), a monthly. Much valuable material appears in the publications of the Central Institute of Statistics (Bucharest VI, Splaiul Unirii Nr. 28), and especially in its

¹² *Sociologie Générale*, Craiova, 1936. His most important former works are: *Problems of Sociology*, Bucharest 1922, and *The Problem of Happiness*, Bucharest, 1921—both in Roumanian.

¹³ *Sociologia generală*, 1926.

¹⁴ *Ethik und Soziologie*, 1926.

¹⁵ *Politică*, 1928.

¹⁶ See, for instance, his study of Henry Ford: *Unde Mergem, Din Viața lui Ford*, Bucharest, 1937.

¹⁷ See: J. S. Roucek, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82, 406. The latest monumental work of Iorga, summarizing his hundreds of other contributions, is *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité Orientale*, published under the auspices of King Carol II by the Roumanian Academy, Bucharest, 1937, of which thus far four large volumes have appeared.

¹⁸ See Ref. 5 above.

¹⁹ Școala Superioară de Asistență Socială "Prințesa Ilena," Strada Popa Rusu 13, Bucharest.

²⁰ *Sociologie Românească*. Anton Golopenția is the editorial secretary, Bucharest III, Strada Latina Nr. 8, Fundația Regală "Principele Carol."

*Demographic Bulletin of Roumania.*²¹ The institute has branches all over Roumania which constantly pour material into the central office. While the Institute specialized last year in material on unemployed intellectuals and on hospitals, it is now planning to devote itself to family budgets. The Society for Roumanian Statistics also sponsors publication of individual studies.

If we are to evaluate the status of sociology in Roumania, it is quite obvious that the Roumanian sociology of today offers more contributions to the field of applied and philosophical than to theoretical and abstract sociology. We must credit Gusti with developing his theory in reference to the importance of the Roumanian village, although one is inclined to feel that the theoretical background has been worked out in this respect by several American sociologists, such as W. I. Thomas.

In the actual application of sociological theories, Roumania is an outstanding example of how successfully public leaders and the government can utilize the service of the sociologists. There are very few countries in Europe where so much public and primarily governmental support is granted to the institutions headed by sociologists. In this respect, possibly, only Czechoslovakia can have a better claim.

Of very great importance is the effort of King Carol to revise the character and national education of Roumania by means of super-educational organization, the "Straja Tării," established on May 9, 1934. "Straja Tării" means exactly, "The watch of the country." It is based on the assumption that, "The school must, while propagating culture, pursue also the education of youth, its moral, religious, and national education; it must form character, and must render individuals useful both to themselves and to the community. But the school alone cannot fulfill all these numerous obligations; nor does the most gifted and best intentioned master and teacher dispose of enough time to fulfill this task; nor is the education received at home in many cases such that instruction should suffice to complete it." The "Straja Tării" is to supplant these needs by means of special and summer courses for all Roumanian youths. The appeal is made by the utilization of special uniforms, flags, and symbols.²²

We should also watch with interest the work and planned publications of the "Centre de Hautes Etudes Internationales," established by the Rockefeller Foundation at the Roumanian Social Institute (Bucharest III, Piața Romana 6), headed by Gusti. Dr. F. Chalmers Wright began the organization of this work in the summer of 1937.

²¹ Since 1931. Dr. Sabin Manuila, Editor, is a former Rockefeller Fellow. Dr. Nicolae Georgescu, chief of the Economic Section, also studied in America as a Rockefeller Fellow at Harvard and Columbia.

²² See: J. S. Roucek, "The New Educational System of Roumania," *School and Society*, 46, October 23, 1937, 537-538. Further information and material may be obtained from the office for the Education of Roumanian Youth, Bucharest, 52 Calea Victoria.

MOBILITY OF INSURANCE POLICY HOLDERS*

ELON H. MOORE
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IF ONE wishes knowledge concerning the ebb and flow of human mobility, as to how many moved from Middletown in 1930, what were their ages and occupations; if he wishes to determine the immediate prospects in the trade of barber or carpenter as reflected by the mobility rate in the two occupations, or if as a home seeker he wishes knowledge as to the local mobility in Peoria or Kalamazoo in order that he may choose the more stable community, he finds no ready answer to his inquiries. If he is willing to wait until 1942 he can then learn how much Peoria has gained or lost between 1930 and 1940. Further, he can discover from our decennial doomsday records how many born in Michigan now live in Oregon. But what the inquisitor demands, if he is to plan his life and business, is not the end mobility of a ten year period or a lifetime, but the current movements of people.

Let no one protest that a knowledge of human movement represents idle information. The value of a home in Seattle, a business in Fresno, a lumber mill in Bend, or the potentiality of a church in Lansing, is definitely related to human mobility.

Until such time as the government makes such data available the social scientist must turn to agencies which by necessity keep some record of population movement. The public utility companies furnishing water, light, telephone, and gas have often been utilized to indicate the amount of local movement. Beyond summary data and indication of areas of high and low mobility, little is offered from these sources.

An untouched source are the files of insurance companies, both those insuring life and household goods. With the former, changes of address are indicated with the payment of premium; with the latter changes must be made with each move or the policy is voided. Furthermore, insurance policies possess the advantage of furnishing a sample, state-wide or in some cases nation-wide. Moreover, especially in life insurance policies, data as to age and occupation make possible analyses not possible with other data. Nevertheless, in this source one finds listed both the place of former residence and the new location, so the direction of the mobility may also be measured.

As a preliminary testing of research possibilities the writer has analyzed the data on mobility found in the files of a life insurance company and in a similar way those of a fire insurance company. Each company operates

* This study was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council of the Oregon State System of Higher Education, by assistance from the National Youth Administration, and by the courtesy of two insurance companies in opening their files for inspection.

on the mutual plan and each is limited in its area of operation. While the area of one is somewhat larger than that of the other, the bulk of the policies of each are located in the same state. These studies will be discussed separately except that in the analyses of the second comparisons will be made with the findings of the first.

I

Mobility of Life Insurance Policy Holders. The life insurance company studied writes the preponderant proportion of its policies in the states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. The study covers the mobility for the twelve year period 1925-1936 for all policies issued in 1922, 1923, and 1924 and still in force December 31, 1936. Also included for certain comparisons were holders issued policies in 1934 and still active December 31, 1936.¹

The active policies for the years 1922, 1923 and 1924 numbered 2107.² Those issued in 1934 totaled 1996 and revealed movements for the two year period 1935-1936.

TABLE I. TOTAL MOBILITY OF LIFE INSURANCE POLICY HOLDERS

Year of Issuance No. of policies	1922-1924 Policies 2107		1934 Policies 1996	
	No. of Moves	Percentage of Moves to Policy Holders	No. of Moves	Percentage of Moves to Policy Holders
1925	419	19.9%		
1926	428	20.3%		
1927	400	19.0%		
1928	371	17.6%		
1929	366	17.4%		
1930	402	19.1%		
1931	422	20.0%		
1932	384	18.2%		
1933	347	16.5%		
1934	316	15.0%		
1935	255	12.1%	408	20.4%
1936	273	13.0%	517	25.1%

Mobility by Years. The incidence of mobility for each year indicated in Table I suggests a gradual decline in moves during the twelve year period. Whereas about one in five moved in 1925 and 1926, only about one in eight of the same group moved in 1935 and 1936. This apparent decline in mobility during this period is without doubt more the result of the increasing higher

¹ The mobility of those whose policies had lapsed prior to January 1, 1937, were excluded since data as to moves could be obtained only until the date that the policy lapsed. Inclusion of this data, while of significance for purposes of comparison and contrast, would bring about an ever changing base and thus greatly complicate the analyses here attempted.

² This does not include some 44 records which were not available in the company files at the time of study.

age level of the group than of any general tendency for mobility to decrease. The analysis of mobility for age levels³ as well as the comparison with the 1934 policy holders supports this position.

In view of this increasing age level for each succeeding year the higher mobility for the years 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1936 is most significant. Since they depart from the downward trend, any estimate of the real increases for these years should have added the normal annual decline in mobility of more than one-half percent per year⁴ due to the one year added annually to age level.

TABLE II. CLASSIFICATION OF NUMBER OF MOVES PER INDIVIDUAL

Number of Moves	Twelve Year Period 1925-1926	Percentage Moving	Two Year Period 1935-1936	Percentage Moving
Policy Holders	2107		1996	
Total Number of Moves	4748		1050	
Moves per 1000 per year	188		263	
Number not Moving	640	30.4%	1345	62%
Number Moving	1467	69.6%	651	38%
Number with 1 Move	408	19.4%	402	20.1%
Number with 2 Moves	329	15.6%	145	7.3%
Number with 3 Moves	233	11.1%	74	3.7%
Number with 4 Moves	166	7.9%	19	1.0%
Number with 5 Moves	102	4.8%	7	—
Number with 6 Moves	70	3.3%	2	—
Number with 7 Moves	42	2.0%	0	—
Number with 8 Moves	34	1.6%	1	—
Number with 9 Moves	26	1.2%	0	—
Number with 10 Moves	21	1.0%	0	—
Number with 11-20 Moves	37	1.8%	0	—

Differences in Mobility. The comparison of those who moved and those who did not is made in Table II. While one party moved as high as twenty times during the twelve year period 640 experienced no moves. Summarizing in round figures for the period, we observe that one out of three did not move, one out of five moved only once, one-half moved more than once, and one-third more than twice. Only one in ten moved as often as every other year and but one in 100 as frequently as once a year. Those who acquired policies in 1934 indicate higher rates both for those not moving (two out of three) and for those moving as frequently as once a year (one in twenty). The lower age grouping doubtless accounts for the higher incidence of those moving at least once a year.

³ A ten years differential in age at any time between the middle twenties and fifty reduces mobility between 30 percent and 40 percent. The reduced mobility between 1925-1926 and 1935-1936 is about 37½ percent.

⁴ One-half percent per year decline in mobility is in the writer's opinion an under estimate. To the extent that a long range trend can be determined in Table I, the decline is closer to one percent. An inspection of Table 4 further reveals close to an average one percent decline in mobility for each succeeding age level between ages 25 and 45.

The social significance of this mobility in terms of perpetuating community institutions and values cannot be ignored. Clearly the social burden of this responsibility must rest for the most part on that third of the population who do not move. That half of the population whose residence averages less than six years and often less than two years must be regarded not only as non-contributors to community stability, but in fact they often represent a disturbance and threat to the building of a community culture effective in its control.

Local and Non-Local Moves. The fact that some mobility is local and does not remove one from community participation will naturally temper the analysis just made. Moves were classified as local in nature where no change in post-office center was indicated. This does not, however, signify that community relationships are undisturbed. Moves within the larger city as well as rural moves with no change in post office may locate one in a new social setting. In fact, many moves are made with this purpose in mind. For this study it was quite impossible to distinguish which of these local moves disturbed and which did not alter social participation.

TABLE III. NATURE OF MOVE

Number of Moves	Twelve Year Period 1925-1926	Two Year Period 1935-1936
Local Moves	46.2%	57.7%
Non-Local Moves	53.8%	42.3%
Up to 99 miles	29.0%	21.3%
100 to 500 miles	14.7%	14.4%
Over 500 miles	10.1%	6.5%

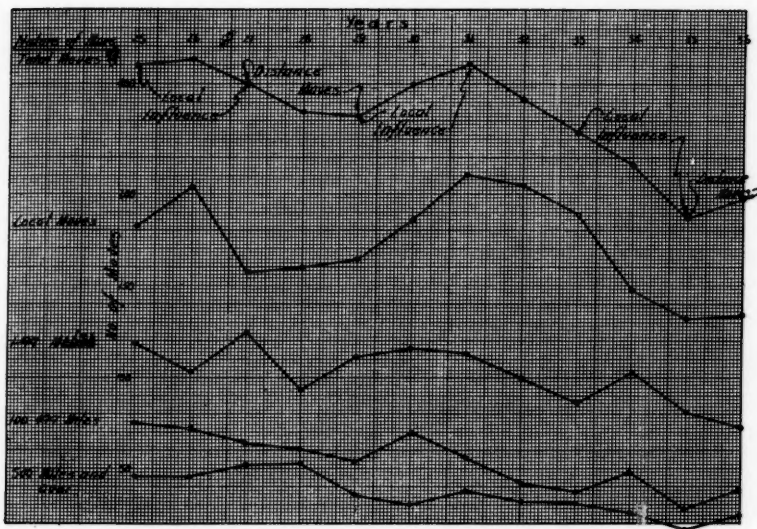
A further analysis of local and non-local moves is found in Chart I where the several types of moves are distinguished for each year. Inspection of the frequency curves for each type of move suggests that local and more distant moves attain high frequency often at different times in the twelve year period. Whereas local mobility was highest in the years 1926, 1931 and 1932, moves up to 100 miles were most frequent in 1927, 1930 and 1934. Moves over 500 miles were highest in 1928. The frequency curves give the slightest suggestion of a temporal lag on the part of more distant moves, but this lag is not constant and analyses of similar data are necessary before such a lag could be presented as a universal tendency.

Mobility of Age Levels. In determining mobility for age groupings the number in each age classification was determined for each year covered by the study. Thus for the twelve year period each subject occupied twelve sequential age groupings, and those for the 1935-1936 period each occupied two age groupings. All cases representing a particular age were assembled. The analysis presented in Chart II minimizes the influences of a temporal

and local nature and reflects almost exclusively the incidence of mobility for each age period.

The highest adult mobility incidence is found for ages 24-27, when nearly one in three annually change their residence. The later thirties reduce the mobility to one in six. In the forties the ratio of moving falls to one in eight, while in the fifties the average is nearer to one in nine. One may assume that the upward change found in the sixties is doubtless mobility occasioned by ill health or made possible by retirement.

CHART I. LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL MOVES FOR YEARS 1925-1936
FOR 2107 LIFE INSURANCE POLICY HOLDERS*

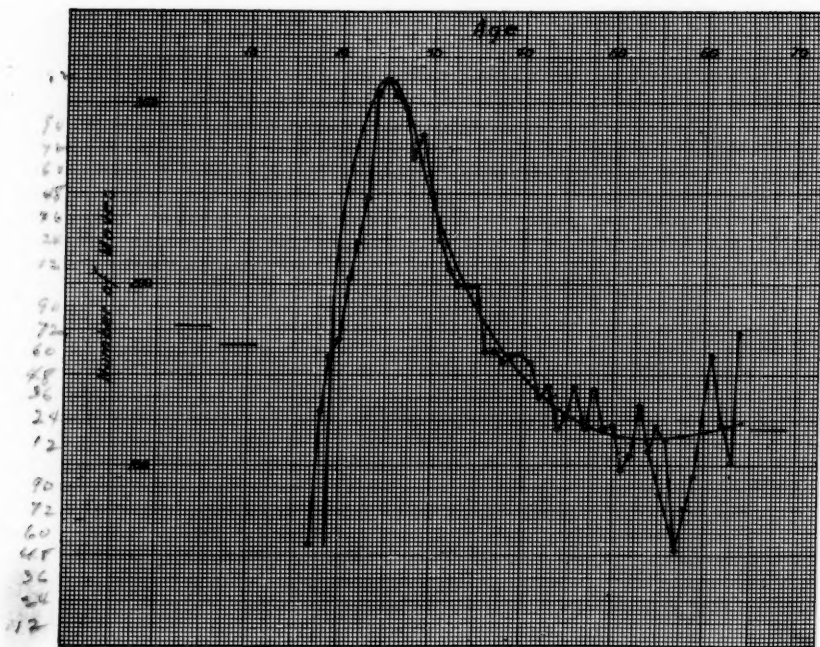


* Where local moves or distance moves determined the total moves trend it is so indicated on the Total Moves line. Thus local moves influenced the trend over the period 1925 to 1927 while distance moves were responsible for continuing the downward trend between 1927 and 1929.

Throughout the years the heaviest mobility rates appear to be associated with social and job adjustment. If one accepts this hypothesis, then process of adjusting appears greatest at about the age of 25 and the adjustment greatest in the fifties. However, this contrast should not blind one to the constant fact that at no adult age do as many as one-third move. At the age of greatest adjusting two-thirds do not move and at the age of greatest adjustment only about one in ten move. The differences are differences of degree only.

Mobility Among Certain Occupational Classes. The mobility indices for occupational classes were obtained only for policies issued in 1924 and 1934 since complete occupational records were not secured for either 1922 or 1923 policies. Nine occupational groupings were established:⁵ farmer, farm laborer, unskilled laborer, skilled and semi-skilled, clerical, salesman, business and management, professions and teachers.⁶ Since the total num-

CHART II. MOVES PER 1000 LIFE INSURANCE POLICY HOLDERS
FOR EACH AGE GROUP



ber of policies issued and in force from 1934 were nearly three times those in force issued in 1924, we have a standard against which to measure increases or decreases in insurance for each occupational grouping.

A comparison of the several groups indicates a relatively high stability in residence for farmers and business men. For professional men the fact that over half of the members moved one or more times in the twelve year

⁵ The classification of occupation is as of the date of application for insurance. Without doubt many in the 1924 group have since then changed their classification. No attempt has been made to recognize these changes, since in only a few cases were such changes of occupation indicated in the correspondence files of the insurance company.

period 1925-1936 should be balanced with the knowledge that two-thirds of their moves were local in nature. For all other groups about three out of four changed residence, and for the unskilled the ratio of seven out of eight moving indicates the absence of feudal attachments for that class.

If one changes the test to that of moves per 1000 policy holders for each occupational group, only farmers, business and professional men show moves less frequently than once in five years over the twelve year period. The moves of the clerical and unskilled are more than twice this rate.

On the other hand, only among teachers and farmers do non-local moves account for more than half of all moves. The ratio for those moving more than 100 miles ranges from three percent for unskilled to 33 percent or greater for teachers and other professional people.⁶

TABLE IV. MOBILITY OF INSURANCE AMOUNT GROUPS

Policy Holders and Moves	Policy Amount Groups					
	\$1000		\$2000-3000		\$5000 and over	
	1925-1936	1935-36	1925-1936	1935-36	1925-1936	1935-36
Average Age of Policy Holder	34+	32	34-	32+	37	36
Policy Holders*	541	426	491	214	210	91
Number Moving	296	149	268	79	104	23
Percentage Moving	55	35	55	37	50	25
Total Moves	1240	227	965	153	364	36
Annual Moves per 1000 cases	191	266	163	357	144	198

* The total number of policy holders for the period 1925-1936 only slightly exceeds those for the two year period 1935-1936. The significantly smaller number of the latter group indicated above results from the greater tendency for 1934 policies to be issued for fractional parts of a thousand.

Mobility Incidence of Policy Amount Groups. Three policy amount classes, \$1000, \$2000-3000, and \$5000 and over, were chosen to discover any mobility differences among these policy amount groupings. It was assumed that some positive correlation exists between the face value of the policy and the income level of its holder. The somewhat higher age average for the \$5000 and over group in contrast to the \$1000 group offers inconclusive and indirect support to this assumption.

⁶ Three further analyses of mobility among occupational groupings would have been significant had the number in each class been large enough to justify such analyses. These are the incidence for different age levels within each occupation, the annual incidence of movement within each occupation, and the direction and flow of mobility within and between regional areas. Each of these analyses has been made by the writer, but the limited size of the sample permits no significant conclusion when distributed among the number of breakdowns necessary.

The differences between the \$1000 policy holders and those in the \$2000-3000 class are not constant and in many cases there appears little to differentiate the two groups. However, if the extreme groups are compared, the \$5000 and over policy group in all cases reveals greater residence stability than those of the \$1000 policy group. For the twelve year period the average length of residence of the former is seven years; for the latter it is only slightly over five. When we observe that only about 50 percent of either group moved, for those moving the residential periods average about three and one-half and two and one-half years respectively. The somewhat higher annual mobility found in all cases for those who were issued policies in 1934 is again doubtless explained by the lower age level of that group. In this case it is not alone the result of recency of date of application but is further influenced by the lower application age in all cases of those purchasing policies in 1934.

Mobility Within and Between Regional Areas. The State of Oregon, where three-fourths of all 1922, 1923 and 1924 policies of this company were issued, was divided into some thirteen areas for purposes of determining inter-area movements. These areas were somewhat arbitrarily chosen on such bases as commercial and industrial functions, valley, plateau or coastal position, amount of rainfall, and type of agriculture or extractive industry. Washington, Idaho, and California, where fewer policies were issued, were each designated as other areas. Further area designations were given for the remainder of the Rocky Mountain region, for the Great Plains and Mississippi Valley, for the Atlantic Coast states, and for foreign countries. These areas carry the following letter designation: A—Portland and immediate suburban area; B—Lower Willamette Valley (excluding Portland); C—Upper Willamette and McKenzie; D—Douglas county exclusive of coastal region; E—Jackson and Josephine counties; F—Southern coastal region; G—Middle coastal region; H—Upper coastal and lower Columbia region; J—Hood River and The Dalles fruit belt; K—Northern wheat region; L—Northeastern area; M—Southern and central range country; N—Klamath-Bend area; P—California; W—Washington; R—Idaho; S—Rocky Mountain region exclusive of Idaho; T—Great Plains and Mississippi-Ohio Valley region; V—Atlantic Coast States; Y—Foreign countries.

Table V summarizes all moves listed for the 1922, 1923 and 1924 policy holders in terms of the area source and area objective. By way of explanation, over the twelve-year period some 645 moved within the Portland area, while 61 left this area for locations in the lower Willamette and 54 had as their destination California. In return some 63 moved from the lower Willamette area into Portland. A close inspection of this data reveals that aside from the movement within an area and to adjacent areas only Portland and California exerted sufficient pulling power to effect any

MOBILITY OF INSURANCE POLICY HOLDERS

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TABLE V. SUMMARY OF INTER-AREA MOVEMENTS, 1925-1936
1922, 1923, 1924 Policies

Area of Origin	Area of Location																			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N	P	W	R	S	T	V	Y
A	645	61	16	0	6	2	6	16	7	6	1	0	6	54	58	4	6	8	6	2
B	63	242	17	0	3	1	3	8	9	0	1	3	3	12	25	0	1	0	1	0
C	19	15	154	6	11	0	3	5	1	1	3	5	1	7	6	1	1	4	0	0
D	10	5	6	33	5	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	21	3	0	0	1	1	0
E	6	4	13	3	151	3	2	1	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
F	0	1	0	1	1	1	47	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	4	0	0	0	0	0
G	4	9	3	2	1	1	3	74	1	1	0	0	2	8	12	1	1	0	0	0
H	21	5	5	0	0	0	2	0	33	0	6	1	4	3	4	0	0	2	0	0
J	9	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	43	6	0	2	9	3	1	2	2	0	1
K	9	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	6	37	7	2	9	9	8	2	2	0	0
L	3	6	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	6	42	2	1	9	9	8	2	2	0	0
M	7	3	0	1	5	0	0	2	5	2	1	2	8	5	5	2	1	4	1	1
N	16	3	2	1	8	1	3	0	0	6	3	2	5	6	7	13	1	6	2	2
P	52	12	2	0	6	0	1	8	1	5	4	2	5	443	448	10	7	9	4	3
W	15	1	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	7	4	4	20	17	341	19	6	3	0
R	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	1	7	5	5	45	3	3	2
S	4	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	4	3	2	0	1	1	2
T	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	2	2
V	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	40	1	2
Y	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	2	2	2

considerable mobility across intervening areas. Here of course one must keep in mind the geographic limitations of the sample for which this conclusion is drawn.

When a summary is made of both local and total mobility rates for each area, it is noted that areas with high local mobility are also areas of high total mobility and that those with low local mobility have also low total mobility. The areas of low mobility represent greater isolation and sparsity of settlement than do those of high mobility. However, the data here presented in no sense justifies the conclusion that mobility necessarily increases directly with increases in density. The fact that the heaviest settled area, A, occupies fifth place in both mobility tables necessitates the assignment of other factors in accounting for high mobility.

If one compares the total annual mobility for the twelve year period with the mobility of 1934 policy holders during the years 1935 and 1936, certain marked changes in order are found. The middle coastal area and the Hood River area assume much higher mobility rates while Washington drops from second to tenth place.

An easy answer for the increase in the first two areas would be the construction of coast highway bridges and Bonneville Dam. However, since the moves for these areas were almost all local in nature, the increase is not the direct result of attracting policy holding laborers from other areas. Also noted is the same tendency for a higher incidence for the 1935-1936 period as in former comparisons. Only Washington enjoys a lower mobility rate. This may be due to the tremendous increase in policy holders for this company in the State of Washington for the later period.

For the 1935-1936 period residence location of less than two years' duration characterized areas C and N, and in only four out of fourteen areas did the mobility rate permit average residence of at least four years' duration.

II

Mobility of Holders of Fire Insurance Policies on Household Goods. The data here analyzed represent 3781 records of policy holders of fire insurance on household goods. Since the policies were all originally issued within the State of Oregon, the analysis is limited to mobility within that area except for those few who transferred their insurance when moving to other states. The company whose records were studied issues policies of one year, three year, and five year duration. The one year policies were excluded, since they would include only moves within the twelve month period and for the further reason that it was difficult to trace renewals from one year to another.⁷

⁷ Doubtless the inability to include one year contracts and their renewals eliminated a higher mobile group than that found in the three year and five year contract groups.

TABLE VI. MOBILITY INDICES FOR REGIONS, 1925-1936*

Area	Policies Issued	Local Moves	Accretion from Other Areas	Losses to Other Areas	Total Mobility	Crude Annual Local Mobility Rate per 1000	Crude Annual Total Mobility Rate per 1000	Annual Total Mobility Rate per 1000 1935-1936
A	495	645	249	266	1160	108	195	324
B	283	242	135	158	535	66	152	295
C	114	154	83	81	318	113	233	564
D	60	33	22	34	89	46	123	242
E	111	151	54	66	271	113	203	312
F	8	3	7	5	15	—	—	—
G	51	47	27	34	108	77	177	434
H	99	74	45	61	180	63	152	268
J	46	33	28	29	90	60	163	320
K	61	43	27	41	111	58	152	201
L	76	37	35	59	131	41	143	202
M	91	42	28	48	118	38	108	199
N	49	69	53	47	167	114	301	567
P	10	443	203	79	—	—	—	—
R	297	341	60	110	511	96	143	285
W	238	448	185	166	799	157	280	232
S	3	45	53	40	138	—	—	—
T	4	80	46	32	158	—	—	—
V	—	40	32	16	88	—	—	—
Y	1	2	16	7	25	—	—	—

* The crude annual local mobility rate used here is obtained by dividing total local moves by policies issued in the area times the number of years covered by the study, which in this case is twelve. The crude total mobility rate was obtained by local moves plus accretions plus losses divided by twelve times policies issued. These crude mobility rates leave much to be desired in some comparisons. In a refined rate the divisor would represent the total number of policies annually held within the area instead of the number originally issued.

The five year contracts are limited almost exclusively to farm locations, while the three year contracts cover both rural and urban settings. The policies studied included 495 five year policies and 3286 three year policies.

Since these policies were all in force at the time the records were studied (December 21-28, 1936), it follows that for each year the number in force would vary. It was assumed that of the 495 five year policies an average of 99 had been issued each year. During the year 1932, the first year in which any of these policies were operative, the estimate could be 99. But since the policies were issued from January through December of that year, the full year coverage would be only half that number, namely 50. Similarly, 1933 would give full year average for all policies written in 1932 and half year coverage for policies written in 1933. This results in an adjusted full year coverage for 1933 of 149. This adjustment is necessary if comparable mobility indices are to be obtained for different years.

TABLE VII. MOBILITY BY YEARS OF FIRE INSURANCE POLICY HOLDERS

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Five Year Policy Holders adjusted for full year coverage	50	149	248	347	446
Three Year Policy Holders adjusted for full year coverage	—	—	596	1695	2695
Estimated Total Year Coverage	50	149	844	2042	3141
Moves	0	10	42	106	138
Annual Moves per 1000 insured	0	67	50	52	44

The mobility indices for the five year period 1932-1936 are indicated in Table VII. The zero mobility for 1932 is doubtless the result of the small number covered and recency to the time of writing the contract. For the years 1932 to 1936 the annual mobility indices are respectively 67, 50, 52 and 44 per 1000 policy holders.⁸ Stated in another way, about one in twenty moved each year. It does not, however, follow that if this study were continued for a twenty year period the mobility would remain at this low rate. The very purchase of a three or five year contract presupposes a degree of permanence on the part of the insured. A separation of the three year and five year contracts reveals major differences in the mobility rate of the two policy holding groups. Whereas the three year group has rates of 64, 60 and 50 per 1000 for 1934, 1935, and 1936 respectively, the rates for the five year group are only 16, 14 and 13 for the same years.

This difference is further reflected in Table VIII where the mobility rate for the three year group is shown to be nearly three times that of the five year group. It is evident from this comparison that the longer term

⁸ The mobility of life insurance policy holders in the same area for the same period are more than double these rates, being 165, 150, 121, and 130 for the same years.

or shorter term contracts have already effected a selection in terms of permanency of residence.

Since the locations for each move were obtained, it was possible to determine the distance and direction of mobility as well as its temporal frequency. Local moves more frequently characterize the three year group. Over three-fourths of their moves were local in contrast to 62 percent⁹ for those of the five year group. Both these are in excess of such moves for life insurance policy holders of the same area whose local moves represented only about half of all moves. Possibly the insurance of household goods is an index of belonging to a more permanent group.

TABLE VIII. MOBILITY FOR TYPES OF FIRE INSURANCE POLICIES

Policy Holders and Moves	3 yr. Policy Holders	5 yr. Policy Holders
Policy Holders	3286	495
Weighted for Full Year Coverage	1643	277
Number Moving	216	17
Number of Moves	271	26
Moves per 1000 per year	55	19

Further, fewer than eight percent of the moves of fire insurance company patrons exceeded a distance of 100 miles in contrast to over twenty percent for the life insurance group.

To calculate variabilities within the state, Oregon was divided into the same thirteen regional areas used in the study of life insurance policy holders. If the southern coastal area for which no moves were recorded is excluded, the annual mobility rates range from 16 to 146 per 1000 policy holders. The middle coastal area, eastern and central Oregon give evidence of unusual stability of residence in contrast to the high mobility rates for the Klamath-Bend and Douglas county areas and for Portland. It is difficult to assign explanations for these differences amounting in one case to as much as a ratio nine times greater. For example, lumbering, dairying, and agriculture characterize both the areas of highest mobility and that of lowest.

Comparing these rates with those of the life insurance study, one discovers several interesting contrasts. The two are placed side by side for ranking comparisons in Table IX. Areas E and G, which rank low in the fire insurance column, occupy relatively high positions in the life insurance column. In contrast, Douglas county changes from second to tenth place, sharing only with the Klamath-Bend area in registering a higher mobility rate for the fire insurance data than for the life insurance. For other areas the variance in position is not great. Here is again evidence that perhaps

⁹ The limited number of total moves for this group makes questionable any reduction to percentage.

the holders of policies on household goods and those who carry life insurance represent markedly different publics. All that this study can do is to indicate the mobility differentials. Explanation of causes or reasons must await a more detailed study of larger samples from the respective areas.

TABLE IX. COMPARATIVE MOBILITY RATES, BY TYPE OF POLICY AND AREA

Fire Insurance Policy Holders	Life Insurance Policy Holders
N—146	N—114
D— 69	C—113
A— 57	E—113
K— 49	A—108
C— 48	G— 77
B— 44	B— 66
J— 43	H— 63
H— 33	J— 60
E— 31	K— 58
M— 29	D— 46
L— 24	L— 41
G— 16	M— 38

The face value of the policy was used as a criterion of the economic position of the insured. In general it was assumed that the person carrying \$1000 insurance on household goods occupies a higher economic position than one with but \$300 insurance. Though this assumption is open to question, the analysis is presented for whatever it may be worth. This data reveals a general increase in mobility from the group with the lowest insurance to that of greatest insurance, except for the group insured for from \$1001 to \$1800. The 1401 persons insured for \$300 or less presented an average residence of 37 years' duration in contrast to 15 years for those with insurance above \$1800. While a study covering a longer period would doubtless lower both of these rates, the difference is still significant. It is interesting to contrast this with the life insurance group, which evidenced lower rates for higher policy groups.

III

Conclusion. The moves of insurance policy holders present an undeveloped mine of material for adding to our knowledge of mobility. The data may be obtained without great difficulty within the offices of insurance companies. Further, if the writer's experience is representative, the research and statistical interests of insurance company officials make such studies more than welcome on their part. The frequent and regular communication of policy holders makes the records here found more accurate than any later reporting of moves to either census taker or other questioner. A further advantage with life insurance holders lies in the fact that all data

for measuring age, occupational and regional mobility are found at one source.

The study of mobility among holders of fire insurance policies on household goods seems to offer less range for analysis than studies of life policy groups, since data as to occupation and age are usually absent and since short term contracts make difficult any study extending over a period of years greater than the longest contract. On the other hand, a comparison of the two groups indicates different mobility characteristics. For this reason we may assume that the two publics do not overlap in all characteristics. Since this is the case, additional studies of a larger nature and covering a less restricted area are needed. Out of many such studies we will be able to establish whatever universals there are regarding mobility.

This study gives only a partial picture of mobility in Oregon and the Northwest. There should be added the moves of those under industrial and group insurance plans and the mobility of relief clients without insurance, if a representative picture of mobility is to be obtained. Since the purpose of this presentation is to reveal research possibilities in this field, the completion of the mobility picture awaits further study.

What is now needed is a ten-year study of mobility changes found in records of an insurance company or companies with policies distributed over all parts of the United States. A selection of 50,000 to 100,000 records with mobility changes available for each year would give a running index of the most significant of population changes. An increase or decrease in movement within an occupation is as important to one within or anticipating that occupation as are bank clearings to the stockholder of the bank. The ebb and flow of people to an area is vital information to merchants, manufacturers, and others whose welfare is bound with the welfare of the area. Such knowledge is as important as the storm warnings of the weather bureau. To know the mobility incidence levels which make possible or impossible types of community structure would be exchanging tested knowledge for the tales of old wives.

Official Reports and Proceedings

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 15, 1936 TO DECEMBER 15, 1937

Membership Statement

On December 15th the number of members of the American Sociological Society was 1,006 which is four more than the total for last year.

Membership in 1936.....	1,002
Members resigning.....	16
Members dropped.....	19
Members deceased.....	7
Members unpaid up to December 15.....	117
<hr/>	
Total membership lost.....	159
Life members.....	28
Honorary members.....	7
Exchange members.....	3
Members:	
Members.....	838
Student.....	99
Joint.....	18
Subscribing.....	6
Chapter.....	7
<hr/>	
Total membership.....	1,006

Of the total 1,006 memberships, 130 are new members (of whom 20 are student members). The improved financial status of the Society, in view of the fact that there is no significant change in membership, is partly explained by the increase in full memberships which exceed the 1936 total by 49. It is also encouraging to observe that the number of persons who discontinued as members dropped from 248 to 159. The Society is indebted to the following members who recommended candidates for membership: Belle Boone Beard; H. A. Bloch; Herbert Blumer; Ernest W. Burgess; C. J. Bushnell; P. F. Cressey; Jerome Davis; C. A. Ellwood; M. C. Elmer; E. E. Eubank; H. P. Fairchild; Wilson Gee; F. H. Hankins; F. N. House; S. H. Jameson; Howard Jensen; P. H. Landis; G. A. Lundberg; R. S. Lynd; Theodore B. Manny; C. A. Nissen; Constantine Panunzio; Mildred Parten; Dwight Sanderson; T. L. Smith; S. A. Stouffer; D. R. Taft; A. J. Todd; Verne Wright; C. C. Zimmerman; and to the personnel of the Membership Committee whose report is given elsewhere in these proceedings.

Activities of the Society

Activities of the Society which have been continued from previous years include representation in the following national organizations: the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Library Association.

In addition to the regular committees, sections, and divisions of the Society, special attention should be given to the work and reports of the Committees on Regional Sociological Societies, the newly appointed Membership Committee, Planning Committee for the Utilization of the Services of Professional Sociologists in Public and Private Agencies, and the Committee to Study the Question of Affiliation with the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes.

During the year two charters were issued to regional sociological societies, the Eastern Sociological Society and the Mid-West Sociological Society becoming Chapters 7 and 8 respectively. As noted in the statistical report of 1936, Chapter 3 was dropped during that year for non-payment of dues.

Plans are under way to collect and bind a complete series of the Society's *Proceedings* for its permanent records. To date all past volumes of proceedings now out of print (namely 2, 3, 6, 11, and 14), have been purchased. The only volume that the Society now lacks is volume 13. The supply of minor publications for the Society's records is complete.

In order to stimulate interest in membership and to increase our different classes of membership, the secretary circularized non-members in five regional societies, co-operated with the Membership Committee in its canvass of more than 1500 prospective members among teachers in the social sciences, and invited to membership all persons proposed by members during the year. From current figures the prospects for an increase in membership in 1938 are good—a total of 38 new members has been recorded as of the date of this report.

Invitation to the 1938 Meeting

Invitations for the next annual meeting of the Society have been received from Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Halifax, Indianapolis, Macon, Miami, New Haven, New Orleans, New York, Niagara Falls, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Tampa, Toronto, and Trenton.

Necrology

The secretary regrets to report the death of the following members during the past year: James Quayle Dealey; F. W. Kroencke; Thomas G. Masaryk; E. L. Morgan; R. W. Murchie; George B. Neumann; Herbert N. Shenton; Warren H. Wilson.

Appended to this report is a summary of membership figures for the past twelve years.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

SUMMARY OF MEMBERSHIP FIGURES, 1926-1937

<i>Years</i>	<i>Total Membership</i>	<i>Number Who Resigned</i>	<i>Number Unpaid at End of Year</i>
1926	1,107	36	178
1927	1,140	35	204
1928	1,352	44	129
1929	1,530	28	218
1930	1,558	47	289
1931	1,567	69	267
1932	1,340	95	363
1933	1,149	63	311

<i>Years</i>	<i>Total Membership</i>	<i>Number Who Resigned</i>	<i>Number Unpaid at End of Year</i>
1934	1,202	35	166
1935	1,164	29	291
1936	1,002	18	223
1937	1,006	16	136

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE *American Sociological Review* FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 15, 1936 TO DECEMBER 15, 1937

Inventory

On December 15, the volumes of *Papers and Proceedings* on hand were as follows

<i>Volume</i>	<i>Copies</i>	<i>Volume</i>	<i>Copies</i>
I	19	XXI	223
VIII	16	XXII	97
X	43	XXIII	83
XII	15	XXIV	305
XV	139	XXV	322
XVI	8	XXVI	77
XVII	20	XXVII	302
XVIII	6	XXVIII	122
XIX	178	XXIX	93
XX	57		

The total number of volumes, 2,125, is 215 less than the number reported last year. Income from the sale of these volumes is stated separately in the treasurer's report.

On December 15, the number of copies of the *American Sociological Review* on hand were as follows:

<i>Number</i>	<i>Copies on Hand</i>	
	<i>Volume I</i>	<i>Volume II</i>
1	14	244
2	160	139
3	430	270
4	411	254
5	409	60
6	387	209*
Total	1,811	1,176

* Estimate prior to date of distribution.

The total number of copies of Volume I on hand, 1,811, is 181 less than the number reported last year. (The original printing per number of this volume was 2,000 copies.)

The total number of copies of Volume II on hand is 1,176, making an approximate total of 2,987 copies on hand for the two fiscal years of the *Review*, of which all but the December surplus of 209 copies are credited to this year's inventory.

During 1937 1,700 copies of each number of Volume II were printed except Number 5 of which the original printing was 2,600 copies. Because of the rapid distribution of this special number, an order to reprint 1,000 extra copies was voted by

the Editorial Board. This additional printing brings the potential stock of available copies of the *Review* to 3,987 copies. In accordance with the vote of the Editorial Board 15 copies of each number of Volume I and 5 copies of each number of Volume II are held for permanent collection. None of the publications of the Society which are held for its own records is included in the above inventory.

Average distribution of the 1937 *Review* was:

To membership.....	1,006	Exchange.....	55
To libraries.....	245	Miscellaneous sales.....	54
Subscriptions.....	53	Reserved.....	5
		Total.....	1,418

Receipts from advertising for the five issues Feb. 1937 to Oct. 1937 are stated in the Treasurer's report. The total receipts from advertising for the six issues Dec. 1936 to Oct. 1937 was \$812.77.

Receipts from royalties are given in the Treasurer's report. On August 30, 1937 permission was granted to the University of Chicago Press to reduce the price on two volumes of *Proceedings*, the copyright of which is held in the name of the Society. These volumes are "Urban Community" and "Social Problems and Social Processes."

Subscriptions to other sociological journals through this office include:

	<i>Number</i>
American Journal of Sociology.....	81
Sociology and Social Research.....	58
Journal of Educational Sociology.....	36
Social Forces.....	117
Total.....	292

The *Review* is now indexed in the Bulletin of Public Affairs Information Service and in the International Index to Periodicals. For the latter service the Society is paying \$60 per year for 1937, 1938, and 1939. The *Review* will be indexed thereafter at no cost.

A considerable proportion of the financial success of the Society's operations during this fiscal year is due to the efficiency of Miss Jean Burson, the Society's office secretary, and of Robert Ford, assistant to the managing editor, to both of whom the Society is deeply obligated.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Managing Editor*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR DECEMBER 15, 1936 TO DECEMBER 15, 1937

Little needs be added to the reports of the Finance Committee, the balance sheet of the Society's financial status, and the statement of income and expenses during the past fiscal year except by way of explanation.

During the year forty-four Certificates of Indebtedness were refunded. This total of \$440.00 includes \$200.00 for 1936, \$200.00 for 1937, and the sum of \$40.00 which was paid to the estate of deceased members. The numbers of the Certificates now cancelled are 1 to 40 inclusive, 55 and 56, and 101 and 102. A total of \$910.00 remains to be refunded from this source of indebtedness. With the reduction of the liability of \$469.90 (to the Life Membership Fund) by \$100.00 during the year, the indebtedness of the Society includes the sums of \$910.00, \$369.90, and the total

cost of the December *Review* (which by vote of the Executive Committee was transferred to the next fiscal year in order that an interest-bearing debt of approximately the same amount could be cancelled from 1936 funds).

A correction to the auditor's report of 1936 should be noted in order that the records of the Society may be accurate. Under liabilities, item, life memberships, the statement is made parenthetically "Amount remaining of \$2,900 received from 29 life memberships." This statement is incorrect and is so noted on the permanent records of the Society.

The total receipts of the Society were \$11,136.25; the net income was \$9,270.94.

The total disbursements of the Society were \$8,695.20; the net expenses were \$7,988.39.

The net change in surplus was \$1,282.55.

The net worth of the Society was \$3,188.74.

A summary of income and expenditures for the past twelve years is appended to this report.

No allowance is made in either the budget of 1938 or the statement of liability for the extra 1,000 copies of the October *Review* that are to be printed. This item of expense is amply covered by the surplus account and should yield a fair margin of profit.

Improvement in the Society's finances is due in no small measure to the loyalty and co-operation of the membership and officers of the Society, to the constant aid of the Finance Committee, and especially to the Editor whose sound advice on matters of finance has always been highly valued.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Treasurer*

SUMMARY OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

Years	Total Income	Total Expenditures	Net Change in Surplus	Net Worth
1926	\$5,982.62	\$ 5,820.50	\$ 162.12*	\$4,285.20
1927	6,417.46	6,811.98	394.52	3,890.68
1928	7,912.54	7,783.65	128.89	3,761.79
1929	8,769.79	8,818.95	49.16	3,712.63
1930	9,459.43	10,335.15	875.72	2,836.91
1931	9,408.87	10,478.41	1,069.24	1,767.67
1932	8,898.25	9,081.90	183.65	1,584.02
1933	7,644.62	7,400.06	277.13*	1,861.15
1934	7,404.73	7,154.74	249.99*	2,111.14
1935	7,876.73	7,726.46	119.16*	2,230.30
1936	7,698.11	8,022.22	324.11	1,906.19
1937	9,270.94	7,988.39	1,282.55*	3,188.74

* Surplus.

Sources: Secretary-Treasurer's reports, see *American Sociological Review*, Vol. I: 132, and separate reports for 1936 and 1937.

EXHIBIT "A"

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 15, 1937

Assets

Cash—Forbes National Bank, Pittsburgh.....	\$ 2,812.32	
Less: Reserved Life Membership Fund.....	100.00	\$ 2,712.32
Inventory—2,125 Vols.—Proceedings @ 50¢.....	\$ 1,062.50	
2,778 Cops.—Review @ 25¢.....	694.50	1,757.00

Investments (Book Value)

\$500 Northwestern Electric 6's.....	\$	500.00	
600 Hyde Park Baptist Church 6's.....		600.00	
3 Shares—American Telephone and Telegraph, Common Stock.....		296.00	1,396.00
Office Furniture and Fixtures.....	\$	241.65	
Less: Reserve for Depreciation.....		141.45	100.20
Expenses paid for in Advance:			
Postage—University of Pittsburgh Post Office.....	\$	9.79	
Manual of Abstracts.....		84.50	
December Review (Paper).....		150.00	244.29
Accounts Receivable.....			209.48
Petty Cash Fund—Secy.-Treas. Office.....			2.39
Total Assets.....			<u>\$ 6,421.68</u>

Liabilities

Life Memberships.....	\$	369.90	
Certificates of Indebtedness.....		910.00	
Income Received in Advance:			
1938 Membership dues.....	\$	1,784.00	
1938 Library Subscriptions.....		107.00	
1938 Other Subscriptions.....		45.54	
Manual of Abstracts.....		16.50	1,953.04
Surplus Account—December 15, 1937.....			3,188.74
Total Liabilities and Net Worth.....			<u>\$ 6,421.68</u>

EXHIBIT "B"

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
DECEMBER 15, 1936—DECEMBER 15, 1937

Cash on Hand, December 15, 1936:

On Deposit at Forbes National Bank.....	\$	379.52	
At Editor's Office.....		87.43	
Petty Cash.....		28.50	\$ 495.45
Income for Period (per schedule).....	\$11,136.25		
Less: Income carried forward from preceding period.....	112.00		11,024.25
Disbursements for period (per schedule).....			<u>\$11,519.70</u>
Cash on Hand, December 15, 1937.....			<u>\$ 2,824.50</u>
Cash composed of:			
On Deposit at Forbes National Bank.....	\$	2,812.32	
Petty Cash.....		2.39	
Advances to University Post Office.....		9.79	<u>\$ 2,824.50</u>

SCHEDULE I

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS

DECEMBER 15, 1936-DECEMBER 15, 1937

Membership Dues:

Single

1936.....	\$ 144.00	
1937.....	5,048.50	
1938.....	<u>1,599.00</u>	\$6,791.50

Student

1936.....	\$ 23.00	
1937.....	392.00	
1938.....	<u>100.00</u>	515.00

Joint

1937.....	\$ 126.00	
1938.....	<u>35.00</u>	161.00

Subscribing

1937.....	\$ 60.00	
1938.....	<u>40.00</u>	100.00

Chapter.....

70.00

Contributions to Budget

1937.....	\$ 30.00	
1938.....	<u>10.00</u>	40.00
		\$ 7,677.50

Subscriptions:

Library

1937.....	\$ 742.00	
1938.....	<u>107.00</u>	\$ 849.00

Individual

1937.....	\$ 157.25	
1938.....	<u>29.00</u>	186.25

Student

1937.....	\$ 55.93	
1938.....	<u>16.54</u>	72.47
		1,107.72

Manual of Abstracts

1936.....	\$ 111.75	
1937.....	<u>16.50</u>	128.25

Proceedings, All volumes.....

\$ 374.17

Less: Accounts Receivable.....	<u>57.75</u>	316.42
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Review, Various Numbers.....

\$ 185.30

Less: Accounts Receivable.....	<u>4.00</u>	181.30
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October Review.....

\$ 814.80

Less: Accounts Receivable.....	<u>146.20</u>	668.60
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Membership List.....

29.15

Advertising.....

722.77

Interest on Investments.....

93.00

Royalties.....

52.33

Miscellaneous.....

38.99

Accounts Receivable.....

120.22

Total Receipts for period..... \$11,136.25

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

85

SCHEDULE II

STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENTS

DECEMBER 15, 1936-DECEMBER 15, 1937

Editor's Office—Smith College

Secretarial Aid.....	\$638.89	
Office Expense of Editor.....	250.93	
Subscription to <i>Publishers Weekly</i>	5.00	
Printing and Stationery.....	28.61	\$ 923.43

George Banta Publishing Company

December Review (1936).....	\$811.23	
Paper Supply.....	\$750.00	
Add: Paid for December Review (1937).....	150.00	900.00
Index.....	94.07	
February.....	572.46	
April.....	571.53	
June.....	596.75	
August.....	454.09	
October.....	981.33	4,981.46

Managing Editor

Secretarial Aid.....	\$250.60	
Postage, Telegraph, and Express.....	\$224.10	
Add: Accounts Receivable.....	1.78	224.88
Printing and Stationery.....	160.37	
Office Expense.....	12.50	
Indexing Review in International Index.....	60.00	708.35

Secretary-Treasurer

Secretarial Aid.....	\$224.80	
Postage, Telegraph, and Express.....	\$131.84	
Add: Accounts Receivable.....	.75	132.59
Printing and Stationery.....	160.37	
Office Expense.....	37.50	
Printing and Multigraphing, Miscellaneous:		
Manual of Abstracts, 1936.....	\$ 99.60	
Manual of Abstracts, 1937.....	84.50	
Program.....	88.03	
Membership List.....	169.93	
Census of Research.....	61.71	
Use of Family Stencil.....	2.00	
Other Stenciling and Mimeographing.....	25.99	531.76

Traveling Expenses:

Of Secretary.....	\$103.84	
Of Editor (1936).....	35.00	138.84

Clerical Expenses incidental to Chicago Meeting..... 30.64

Other Expenses incidental to Chicago Meeting:

Entertainment.....	\$ 20.00	
Posters.....	6.00	
Telephone.....	5.90	31.90

Expenses incidental to Banquet.....	60.00	
Exhibits Committee.....	51.40	
Honorarium to President.....	25.00	
Certificates of Indebtedness (Refunds).....	440.00	
American Council of Learned Societies, Dues.....	35.00	
Bond for Managing Editor.....	11.00	
Auditor.....	50.00	
Bank Charges.....	18.68	
Miscellaneous Expense.....	3.00	
Discount Expense.....	17.83	
Bad Debts.....	11.32	
Accounts Payable.....	54.95	
Precedings Purchased.....	15.38	2,081.96
Total Disbursements.....		<u>\$8,695.20</u>

AUDITOR'S REPORT, 1936

I have examined the books of account of the American Sociological Society and have made a complete cash audit for the fiscal year ending December 15, 1936. The cash balance on hand at December 15, 1936 is \$379.52.

I have prepared a Statement of Income and Expense for the year ending December 15, 1936 together with a Balance Sheet at that date which verifies this cash balance.

I did not examine the detailed invoices supporting the payments made by checks but merely examined the check book stubs and checks. Neither did I examine a list containing all membership fees, advertising fees, etc., received. I would suggest that this be done at the end of the current fiscal year.

With the exception of the above named facts, I do hereby CERTIFY that the attached Income and Expense Statement showing a net Operating Deficit of \$318.66 for the fiscal year ending December 15, 1936 and that the attached Balance Sheet at December 15, 1936, are correct.

January 21, 1937

EDWARD A. LINHART
3152 Avalon Street,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

AUDITOR'S REPORT, 1937

Pursuant to instructions from Dr. Phelps, I have made a limited audit of the books of the American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ending December 15, 1937. The specific purpose of this audit was to determine whether the business of the Treasurer's office has been handled in a proper and efficient manner, the limitation being to accomplish said purpose at nominal auditing cost to the Society. The books were first examined as of June 15, 1937, and subsequently as of December 15, 1937.

I have assisted and supervised preparation from the books, the Treasurer's attached statements of Receipts and Disbursements together with the Balance Sheet. I certify that, in my opinion, these statements are correctly prepared and accurately set forth the details reported on.

Random tests were made of book entries and the records appeared to be accurately and completely kept. The bank balance as shown was proved against the Bank's statement of account and found to be correct. Inventory and security value figures were accepted as reported by the Treasurer.

In my opinion, the business and records of the American Sociological Society are being conducted in a competent and trustworthy manner.

December 20, 1937

PAUL A. WEBB,
3509 Fifth Ave.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 29, 1937,

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

The Finance Committee started the year with certain difficulties arising from the differences that existed between the Treasurer's Report of December, 1936 and the later report of the Auditor. These differences were explored at great length by the Chairman and the Treasurer, with the help of other members of the committee by correspondence. The differences were found to be due partly to different systems of bookkeeping, partly to misunderstandings, and partly to the confusion arising from the quick transfer of all books, accounts and business dealing from one city to another, together with a change in officers and the enormous amount of work involved in starting a new journal. These differences were eventually reduced to insignificant details, permitting the final adoption of the 1936 report. Special thanks are due to Professor Blumer for helping clear up difficulties arising from the transfer of the books.

In May the Committee ruled that:

- (a) The December, 1936, issue of the *Review* be carried over to the 1937 budget, in order to avoid having seven issues charged to one year and to allow the books to close December 15 in time for an audit before the annual meeting.

The Committee further recommended to the Executive Committee that:

- (b) The *Review* be allowed to use during 1937, if necessary, any receipts from advertising in excess of the \$600.00 advertising item in the budget.
- (c) The *Review* be allowed to use during 1937, if necessary, the receipts from the sale of *extra* copies of the special October, 1937, issue.

In October the Committee was circularized upon the suggestion of the Treasurer that the membership dues of the American Sociological Society be reduced from \$6.00 to \$5.00 per year. The Committee was unfavorable to this, declaring that in any event no such step should be recommended unless first discussed at the annual meeting of the Society.

The Society is at present in a position to repay any part or all of the \$469.90 owed to the Life Membership Fund. In his report the Treasurer earmarked a minimum of \$100.00 for that purpose, but upon the recommendation of both the Treasurer and the Finance Committee the Executive Committee authorized the repayment of the whole sum (\$469.90), and extended the life and power of the present Finance Committee until it can invest for the Society a sum not less than \$469.90 nor more than \$500.00. The Committee has looked into the merits of certain types of investment, secured advice from sources in which it has confidence, and will make such investment soon, reporting thereafter to the Treasurer, the new Finance Committee, and the Executive Committee.

The Society has this year paid off \$440.00 of the Certificates of Indebtedness. It is mandatory that \$200.00 worth of these certificates be retired each year. Last year this was not done, so the \$440.00 represents last year and this year, plus \$40.00 to clear up the estate of a deceased member.

The Society is in much better financial shape than last year. It is necessary to point out, however, that much of the improvement in both the cash position and the surplus account is fictitious. This is no reflection on the Treasurer; on the contrary it is to his credit. By initiating the practice of issuing the call for dues a little earlier than in the previous year—to which the response was excellent—he was able to close the year with a substantial amount of cash on hand, a large part of which will be applicable to the 1938 budget. Of the \$2712.32 in the bank (not counting the \$100.00 earmarked for the Life Membership Fund) \$1936.54 is for prepaid membership dues and subscriptions, leaving \$775.78 net. Of the \$379.52 cash in bank a year ago \$112.00 was for similar prepayments, leaving \$267.52 net. When the net differences are compared the Society is seen to have a *bona fide* increase over last year of \$508.26 cash in bank.

When the surplus account of 1937 is compared with that of 1936 the same items of prepayment must be kept in mind. But petty cash accounts, paper and other items paid for in advance make the *bona fide* betterment in the surplus account even greater than in the cash account. It is likely that the fictitious element caused by moving up the date of the call for dues will largely disappear in 1938 if the call date is kept where it is, and the Society should have an excellent cash account each year when the books are closed. For this good showing the Committee wishes to give credit to the untiring effort of the Treasurer in keeping expenses down, and to the Editor and Managing Editor of the *Review* for the excellent publication they have given us on the budget allowed them. The Committee is very grateful to them.

The Committee would remind the Society, however, that it is still in debt to the amount of \$910.00 even after the debt to the Life Membership Fund is fully paid. This \$910.00 is in Certificates of Indebtedness, representing money which the members of the Society were generous enough to lend to the Society in time of need. The Society is duty bound to repay these loans as soon as possible, and the Committee strongly urges that instead of enlarging its expenditures the Society keep its belt tight until out of debt, at which time it can use its own judgment about taking on weight. The Committee urges that the budget be kept as low as possible, and that any supplementary budget be voted by the Executive Committee only if and when a specific and justifiable occasion arises, such as was done this year regarding the special issue of the *Review* (October) which was a financial success.

It would appear from the Treasurer's Report, when compared with the 1937 budget, that the latter had been exceeded by \$455.49—the difference between the budget of \$7532.90 and the \$7988.39 expenditures chargeable to 1937. Part of this was due to the office expenditures of both the Editor and the Managing-Editor-Secretary-Treasurer exceeding the original allotment, and partly to the extra cost of the special October number of the *Review*. But while the original budget was exceeded, the budget as supplemented was not exceeded, for the Executive Committee made available for the *Review* certain additional revenue which might accrue through its own efforts. The additional revenue thus made available (from advertising above \$600.00 and from sale of *extra* copies of the October *Review*) amounted to \$791.37, which is \$335.88 more than the \$455.49 by which the *original* budget was exceeded. Actually, therefore, the supplementary budget authorized was not exceeded—it was not even fully expended.

In the light of this performance the Finance Committee recommends the adoption, without change, of the proposed 1938 budget submitted to it by the Treasurer. This proposed budget is for a total of \$7748.00, an increase of \$215.10 over the 1937 budget, which increase is largely for more help in the Managing-Editor-Secretary-Treasurer's office.

It is the earnest hope of the Committee that if the Society will live within its budget, and if it will secure a reasonable increase in members, it will be clear of debt within another three years, or even less. When that is accomplished the Society should provide for some annual remuneration to the Secretary-Treasurer and the Editor of the *Review*. These positions call for an enormous amount of work, and it is unfair to expect the incumbents to serve without pay. With its debt wiped out the Society will be in a sound position to handle this urgent matter.

HERBERT BLUMER
J. H. S. BOSSARD
M. C. ELMER
DWIGHT SANDERSON
A. J. TODD
R. E. BABER, *Chairman*

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
DECEMBER 28, 1937, CLARIDGE HOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY

The first business meeting of the Society was called to order at 9:15 A.M. in the Main Lounge of the Claridge Hotel, President Faris presiding.

Minutes of the last business meeting of the Society were omitted because they were printed in the *Review*, Vol. II, pp. 78-81.

Agenda of the order of business (as posted on the bulletin board) were adopted for the three business meetings of the Society.

Mr. Harrison reported for the Society's representatives to the Social Science Research Council, and summarized the principal activities of the Council of interest to this Society under the topics (1) the planning and promotion of research, (2) the research monographs on the social effects of the depression, and (3) the encouragement of research in governmental projects.

Mr. Bossard reported as the representative of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies. Copies of the annual report of the Council were available at the registration desk.

The report of Mr. Chapin, the Society's representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was read by the secretary.

The report of the Research Planning Committee was read by the secretary.

The Committee on Membership, authorized by the Executive Committee during the year, was approved by the Society. Mr. Gee, chairman, reported upon the work and conclusions of this committee which are printed in full in the proceedings of the Society.

The report of the Committee on Regional Sociological Societies was read by the secretary. Motion was made and passed that this committee be continued.

The report of the Committee of Presidents of Regional Sociological Societies was read by the secretary.

The report of the Committee of Secretaries of Regional Sociological Societies was read by the secretary.

Each of the above reports of delegates and committees was approved by the Society.

Meeting adjourned at 9:55 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 28, 1937

CLARIDGE HOTEL, ROOM 215

The first meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 5:00 P.M. by President Faris. Members present were Messrs. Faris, Johnson, Taylor, Bernard, Reuter, Burgess, Fairchild, Bossard, Gee, Kimball Young, and Dorothy Thomas.

It was voted to omit the reading of the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee because they were printed in the *Review*.

The secretary read his annual report which was accepted on the motion of Mr. Young, seconded by Mr. Bossard. Mr. Fairchild moved that the incoming president be requested and authorized to appoint a special committee composed of one representative from the Editorial Board of the *Review*, one from the Committee on Membership, one from the Committee on Regional Sociological Societies, and such others as he may see fit to add, to investigate the question of increasing the subscriptions to the *Review* among members of regional sociological societies, and to report its findings and recommendations to the Executive Committee. This motion was seconded and passed.

The managing editor of the *Review* read his annual report which was accepted on the motion of Mr. Burgess, seconded by Mr. Gee.

The treasurer presented the financial report of the Society which was accepted on the motion of Mr. Bossard and seconded by Mr. Reuter.

A preliminary report of the Finance Committee was presented by Mr. Baber.

The report of the Committee on Honorary Members was read by the secretary in the absence of the chairman, Mr. Ellwood. No recommendations for honorary membership were made.

The report of the Committee to Study the Question of Affiliation with the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes was presented by Mr. Eubank. This report was published in the December *Review* to which one clause has been added, namely

"In accordance, however, with the spirit expressed in the prefatory note of the report of the Maunier Committee of the *Federation*, this Committee further recommends:

That at the next session of the International Sociological Congress, appropriate steps be taken to make the *Federation* independent of the *Institute*, including the establishment of an independent Bureau of the former, while maintaining between the two a cordial and co-operative working relationship."

Mr. Burgess moved that the report be accepted and that on the basis of the Maunier redraft of the bylaws of the Federation, as printed in the *Review* Volume II (No. 6) pp. 903-905, and of the above additional proposal of the committee, the Society apply for membership in the International Federation of Societies and Institutes of Sociology. This motion was seconded by Mr. Fairchild. Final action on this motion was postponed until the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Meeting adjourned at 6:18 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 29, 1937

CLARIDGE HOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY

The second business meeting of the Society was called to order by President Faris at 9:15 A.M. in the Main Lounge.

The minutes of the Executive Committee were read. Upon the motion of Mr. Eubank, seconded by Mr. Vance, the minutes were approved.

The report of the Society's delegate, Mr. Karpf, to the American Library Association was read by the secretary and accepted by the Society.

A preliminary report of Mr. Odum, chairman, of the Planning Committee for the Utilization of the Services of Professional Sociologists in Public and Private Agencies was read by the secretary. The Society formally approved this report and also the motion that this committee should be continued.

Mr. Willey, chairman of the Committee on Nominations, presented the following candidates for offices in the Society:

For president

F. H. Hankins, Smith College

For first vice president—one to be elected

E. deS. Brunner, Columbia University

Warren Thompson, Scripps Foundation

For second vice president—one to be elected

W. E. Gettys, University of Texas

Louis Wirth, University of Chicago

For executive committee—two to be elected

Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas

Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University

George A. Lundberg, Bennington College

Donald Young, University of Pennsylvania

For editor

Read Bain, Miami University

For managing editor

Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh

For the editorial board—two to be elected

Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin

John Dollard, Yale University

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Clifford Kirkpatrick, University of Minnesota

For representative to American Documentation Institute

Theodore B. Manny, University of Maryland

Mr. E. A. Ross moved that the incoming officers take into consideration in planning program for the next annual meetings a survey of the first hundred years of sociology since Auguste Comte's use of the term. Mr. Ross also moved that a time limit of one-half hour be set for papers in general sessions in order to permit discussion. Both motions were passed, and upon the further approval of the Society, the chairman referred both matters to the Committee on Resolutions.

Meeting adjourned at 9:45 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 29, 1937

CLARIDGE HOTEL, ROOM 215

The second meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 5:05 P.M. by President Faris. Members present were Messrs. Faris, Johnson, Taylor, Burgess, Bernard, Fairchild, Bossard, Steiner, Gee, Kimball Young, and Dorothy Thomas.

Mr. Baber presented the final report of the Finance Committee and recommended

adoption of the audited statement of the Society's finances and of the proposed 1938 budget. Upon the motion of Mr. Gee, seconded by Miss Thomas, both the report and budget were approved by the Executive Committee. Mr. Fairchild moved that the present finance committee be authorized to invest the sum of \$500 which is slightly more than the amount due to the life membership fund. This motion was seconded by Mr. Bossard and passed.

Mr. Eubank presented for further consideration the report on the question of affiliating with the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes. The motion of Mr. Burgess, seconded by Mr. Fairchild, to the effect that this Society become affiliated with the International Federation of Sociological Societies was reintroduced. Mr. Bernard offered a substitute motion that the Society postpone action on this matter for a year until it can be determined whether the relations between the Federation and the Institute have been satisfactorily met. This motion was seconded by Dorothy Thomas. Motion was defeated. The original motion was then stated and passed by a vote of 5 to 3.

As first choice for the place of meetings for the next annual convention, New Orleans was selected contingent upon the assurance that hotels would be open to all members. Chicago was selected as second choice.

The committee approved the election of Mr. E. W. Burgess for a three year term as the Society's representative to the Social Science Research Council.

Mr. Stuart Rice was elected for a term of three years to the Research Planning Committee.

The Committee authorized the incoming president to select upon the approval of the Executive Committee both the representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the delegate to the American Library Association.

The Executive Committee elected Harold A. Phelps as secretary and treasurer of the Society.

A request of the Institute for Social and Economic Research of the University of Panama for the appointment of a corresponding member was referred to the incoming officers.

Suggested amendments to the Constitution presented by the Nominating Committee and a committee of the Section on Rural Sociology were referred back to both sponsoring groups for formal submission to the Society.

Meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 30, 1937

CLARIDGE HOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY

The third business meeting of the Society was called to order by President Faris at 9:20 A.M. in the Main Lounge.

The minutes of the Executive Committee were read by the secretary.

The election of Mr. E. W. Burgess for a term of three years as a representative to the Social Science Research Council was approved by the Society.

The election of Mr. Stuart Rice as a member of the Research Planning Committee for a term of three years was approved by the Society.

The resolution to refer the appointment of delegates to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and to the American Library Association to the incoming president and Executive Committee was approved.

Mr. Harold A. Phelps was elected Secretary-treasurer of the Society.

The favorable action of the Executive Committee on the Society's affiliation with the Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes was opposed by the following motion, made by Mr. Bernard, that the Society reject that part of the minutes of the Executive Committee which agrees to unite this Society with the International Federation of Sociological Societies. This motion was seconded but failed to pass. The original motion of the Executive Committee with respect to this Society's affiliation with the Federation was then approved by the Society. The minutes of the Executive Committee were then formally approved by the Society.

Mr. J. H. S. Bossard reported as chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. The report was accepted by the Society with a vote of thanks to the personnel of this committee.

Mr. Sanderson read the amendment to the Constitution relative to Section 2, Article VIII that is being sponsored by the Section on Rural Sociology.

Another amendment was presented by Mr. Willey for the nominating committee.

Both of these proposed amendments will be published in the *Review*.

Mr. Donald Young presented the following report of the Committee on Resolutions which was approved:

RESOLVED: That the American Sociological Society expresses its sincere appreciation of the work of all who have contributed to the success of the thirty-second annual meeting held in Atlantic City, December 28-30, 1937, and extends its thanks in particular to the officers of the Society, to the members of the Local Committee on Arrangements, to the Editorial Board and staff of the *American Sociological Review*, and to the Secretary and his assistants.

RESOLVED: That the chairmen of meetings of the American Sociological Society are requested to enforce strictly the time limits for the reading of prepared papers and for informal discussion as established by the Program Committee and the section committees.

RESOLVED: That the Society desires to record its sense of loss because of the death during the past year of James Q. Dealey, F. W. Kroencke, Thomas G. Masaryk, E. L. Morgan, R. W. Murchie, George B. Neumann, Herbert N. Shenton, and Warren H. Wilson.

Mr. E. E. Eubank moved that the chairman appoint a committee to prepare a statement of regrets in memory of deceased members. This motion was approved and the chairman appointed the above Committee on Resolutions to formulate an additional clause to its report.

The chair appointed Mr. L. V. Ballard chief teller who supervised the distribution and counting of ballots. In addition to candidates recommended by the nominating committee, the following candidates were nominated by petition.

For executive committee

Grace Coyle

C. C. North

Fred R. Yoder

For editor

L. L. Bernard

For editorial board

J. H. S. Bossard

Wilson Gee

Charles S. Johnson

The following officers were elected:

President, F. H. Hankins, Smith College

First Vice President, Warren Thompson, Scripps Foundation

Second Vice President, W. E. Gettys, University of Texas

Executive Committee, George Lundberg, Bennington College; Donald Young, University of Pennsylvania

Editor, Read Bain, Miami University

Editorial Board, Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

Managing Editor, Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh

Representative to the American Documentation Institute, Theodore B. Manny, University of Maryland

Meeting adjourned at 10:40 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON REGIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

The Committee on Regional Societies has kept in touch with developments throughout the year but has not projected new studies.

It seemed advisable to permit a thorough test of co-operative relations between the national society and the regional groups through the work of the Committee of Presidents and the Committee of Secretaries. These two committees were approved at the last annual meeting and their reports, of course, go to the Executive Committee.

Your Committee suggests the continuation of those two special committees in order to give sufficient time to determine their value as co-operative devices.

As a further gesture toward co-operative relations between the national and regional societies, the elimination of the present affiliation fee of ten dollars would be a useful move. There is every evidence that some of the regional societies regard this fee as an unnecessary barrier between the national and regional groups.

Your Committee suggests certain problems for further study:

1. The function of the yearly national program of papers in the light of similarity of regional society programs.
2. New services which the national society might undertake as a means of consolidating sociological interests throughout the nation.
3. The economic burden of maintaining the present four national sociological journals.
4. The feasibility of interlocking dues as between the national and regional societies.
5. Organic interrelation between the national and regional societies.

The publication of the Committee's lengthy report of last year in the *Review* stimulated wide and favorable comment. Responses indicate that the regional societies are eager to co-operate with the national society and would welcome feasible co-operative relations.

The Committee on Regional Societies does not regard its work completed, but it may be that the Executive Committee would prefer to appoint a new committee or even several committees, in view of the problems suggested for further study. If so, the present committee would be glad to lay its burden down.

Respectfully submitted,
E. T. KRUEGER, *Chairman*

Members of the Committee:

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Jerome Davis | 5. C. N. Reynolds | 9. Forrest E. LaViolette |
| 2. A. A. Johnston | 6. Kimball Young | 10. L. G. Brown |
| 3. Wilson Gee | 7. Donald Young | 11. E. T. Krueger |
| 4. W. E. Gettys | 8. H. B. Woolston | |

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRESIDENTS OF REGIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

The President of the Society has corresponded with the presidents of regional societies but no action of importance has been taken. Considerable correspondence has been carried on with the committee of the Section on Rural Sociology, but there is a special committee which will report on important aspects of the relation of the rural sociologists to the Society.

The special committee on regional societies was continued last year and will report at this meeting. Questions which this committee might have considered will be discussed in their report.

Respectfully submitted,
ELLSWORTH FARIS, *Chairman, ex officio*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SECRETARIES OF REGIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

In accordance with the recommendation of the 1936 report of the Committee on Regional Sociological Societies, the secretary organized the proposed Committee of Secretaries. All negotiations were conducted by correspondence with the ten regional secretaries. These ten regional sociological societies are listed in the *American Sociological Review*, Volume II, page 412.

The chairman outlined to each secretary that section of the report of the Committee on Regional Sociological Societies which, first, solicited the co-operation of the several regional societies, and secondly, asked for (a) membership figures and other statistical data of the society's operations which would be of value in the deliberations of this committee, (b) recommendations of the regional societies concerning the organization, policies, and services of the national society, and (c) any suggestions of the membership of regional societies either from discussions or from official records for the closer co-operation and mutual planning of all associated groups.

Since the Membership Committee of the national society was established after the preparation of the report of the Committee on Regional Sociological Societies, the further request was made of each secretary that a list of members of each regional society should be submitted for the purpose of extending the membership of the American Sociological Society among regional groups.

On point (a), statistical data, membership figures of five of the ten regional societies are summarized:

<i>Regional Society</i>	<i>Total Membership</i>	<i>Number not Affiliated with the American Sociological Society</i>
Eastern Sociological Society	159	40
Pacific Sociological Society	64	43
Mid-West Sociological Society	48	19
Southwestern Sociological Society	25*	—
Southern Sociological Society	169	115

* Actual attendance at meetings, 130.

Statements of secretaries relative to points (b) and (c):

The Eastern Sociological Society regards chapter membership in the national society as purely a formal relation. There are no suggestions for closer co-operation or mutual planning. (P. F. Cressey.)

The Pacific Sociological Society would value an exchange of speakers at annual meetings. "There have been reverberations from the Pacific coast that it is difficult for members to attend meetings either at Chicago or New York, but it would be desirable to have one or two representatives assigned by the Society or any other regional organizations, not for the mere formality of extending good wishes, but to present their points of view for the benefit of regional members. The same could be done insofar as the representation of the national society is concerned by asking one or two members from the various regions to appear on the program—"

There is a record in the discussions of this society in favor of chapter affiliation. (S. H. Jameson.)

The Mid-West Sociological Society reports the belief among its membership that the national society serves university men primarily to the neglect of college teachers. (L. V. Ballard.)

The Southwestern Sociological Society is in favor of affiliation with the national society but is opposed to the payment of a fee. (W. T. Watson.)

Other suggestions are:

1. Obtain information concerning the publications received by non-members of the national society and the proportion of this group attending either regional or national meetings.

2. Make an inventory of the special interests of persons affiliated with regional societies but not with the national society.

3. Unless some definite plan of co-operation is determined, the deliberations of the Committee of Secretaries is apt to become mere "busy-work."

Due either to a change in secretaries or in the nature of the regional society (in the latter instance, departmental societies), the returns of the ten societies were not made in a form permitting comparison with the five societies summarized above.

The consensus of the secretaries' reactions seems to indicate no evidence of competition between the several societies, and the point of view is more or less unanimous that opportunity for closer relationships and for some coherent plan of co-operation is dependent upon a separation between the fee-paying relationship now in effect and other plans for actual regional federation.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Chairman ex-officio*

REPORT OF THE RESEARCH PLANNING COMMITTEE

When this Committee was set up it was expected that the Society would be entrusted with funds or at least have oversight in assisting research. This expectation has not been realized, but the Committee has been available for consultation and has been freely consulted by our membership during the year 1937, especially by the important group which studied the social effects of the depression.

We have taken no official action during the year but are of the opinion that this Committee should be continued in the hope that the original purpose may yet be carried out.

STUART RICE
E. W. BURGESS
DOROTHY THOMAS
HAROLD A. PHELPS
ELLSWORTH FARIS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

The American Sociological Society is almost entirely dependent for its financial support upon the dues paid annually by its membership. It would be highly desirable if plans for substantial additional support through income on endowment could be developed and materialized, but at present this situation does not exist. In 1931 the total membership of the Society reached a peak point of 1,567. Decline from this figure began in the depression year of 1932, and the membership for 1936 totalled 1,002. On December 1, 1937 the corresponding figure was 1,006.

Strongly influenced by these and related facts, President Ellsworth Faris of the Society under date of February 15, 1937, submitted the following query to the Executive Committee: "It has been suggested that the President appoint a special membership committee. Do you approve this suggestion?" The vote on this proposition was favorable, and as a result, a Committee on Membership was set up representative of the different geographical areas of the United States.

It was agreed that a logical first step was to build up a directory of teachers of sociology in American universities and colleges. The responsibility for securing such lists from the several states was divided among the members of the Committee. While these lists in a number of the states are far from complete, thanks to the effective work of the Committee substantial progress has been made along these lines. As of November 17, 1937, each of 1,566 names on this list—at a total cost of \$56.33, inclusive of stationery, printing and postage, but not clerical work—had been sent a letter inviting them to membership in the Society. Of these letters, 370 were of an individualized nature, and were sent by first-class mail. The other 1,196 received printed form letters by second-class mail; a copy of which communication is as follows:

OCTOBER 29, 1937

Upon the recommendation of our committee on membership, we would like to invite you most cordially to become a member of this Society. This committee desires that teachers and research workers in sociology throughout the country may have an opportunity to unite with our membership for the mutual stimulation of scholarly interests in the several divisions of the Society's work.

The American Sociological Society was established in 1905 primarily to advance these interests. In addition to the organization of an annual program, which is held during the Christmas holidays, the Society publishes the *American Sociological Review* (to which each member is a subscriber upon the payment of membership dues) and also maintains, through committees and representatives, permanent relationships with other learned societies in this country and abroad.

We are enclosing an application form with the hope that you will want to become a member. You will note that there are two classes of membership—active membership for which the dues are \$6.00 per year, and student membership (which includes any student prior to the completion of the doctorate) at \$4.00 per year. Memberships run concurrently with the chronological year, and new members joining after January 1st will receive all back numbers of the current volume of the *Review*. Since the current year is now in its fourth quarter, you may desire to have your membership begin January 1, 1938. Will you please indicate 1937 or 1938 membership on the application form.

Although it is necessary to use a form letter in bringing this communication to your attention, we hope that you will accept it as a personal invitation.

Should you have other inquiries about our work, please write to the secretary for further information.

Sincerely yours,

ELLSWORTH FARIS, *President*
American Sociological Society
WILSON GEE, *Chairman*
Membership Committee

HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*
American Sociological Society
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pa.

From these letters, as of December 22, 1937, only 29 new members were recruited to the Society. The results are frankly discouraging.

If the hypothesis that there is a large potential membership for the Society among the teachers of sociology in the colleges of this country, as well as among social workers and other groups, provided only these human resources are properly explored, is valid, then the conclusion must be reached that the method of a general letter of invitation is not the effective approach to use. A method that is less removed and more personal in nature must be devised. Perhaps a procedure worth trying is to set up a subcommittee on membership in each of the several states, give it the responsibility for the preparation of a list of potential members for the Society in the particular state, have it check such a list against the current membership roll of the Society, and proceed by personal conference or letter to recruit those who are without the fold. Another approach which offers some promise is to enlist everyone in the Society in the campaign for membership. The best procedures along these lines will form the basis of discussion for a meeting of the Committee on Membership to be held during the present sessions of the Society, at which time it is hoped the proper strategy in the matter may be planned.

It is believed that an increased membership for the Society will contribute greatly to its financial stability and its more effective functioning. Moreover, it is felt that if the achievements, objectives, and services of the Society are adequately and attractively presented to the sociologists in this country not now members, a considerable number of them, at least several hundred, can be won to the support of the organization. This is the justification for a Committee on Membership, and at the same time, is the task of such a Committee.

In a recent article the director of research for General Motors says that research "is simply a way of trying to find new knowledge and ways of improving things which you are not satisfied with." This is also a good characterization of the experimental method. Certainly, the present membership of the Society, as creditable as it may be, is not one with which to be satisfied, and as proponents of the scientific method, we should soundly experiment with the procedures which seem to promise most toward the larger support of the organization. And such a development will require time, patience, judgment and lots of hard work.

In presenting this report, the Committee wishes to express its appreciation of the splendid co-operation which it has had from the Secretary of the Society, Dr. H. A. Phelps, who has done the lion's share of the work thus far performed by the Committee.

WILSON GEE, *Chairman*
W. E. GETTYS
E. W. GREGORY, JR.
F. E. LUMLEY
R. D. MCKENZIE
T. B. MANNY
DWIGHT SANDERSON
JESSE F. STEINER
ERLE F. YOUNG

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<i>State</i>	<i>Colleges</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>No. Letters Sent</i>	<i>Memberships Obtained</i>	
				1937	1938
Washington.....		Oct. 29, 1937.....	50		
Ohio.....			42		1
Nebraska.....			21		1
Alabama.....			30		
Oregon.....			22		
Idaho.....			12		
Kentucky.....			18		
Michigan.....			13		1
Georgia.....			81		2
Minnesota.....			6		1
Maryland.....			22		
Indiana.....			23		1
Virginia.....			26		
Florida.....			16		
District of Columbia.....			84		
West Virginia.....			1		
North Carolina.....			78		2
California.....			46		1
South Carolina.....			27		
New Mexico.....			2		
Hawaii.....			1		
Tennessee.....			48		
Montana.....			1		
Missouri.....			15		
Kansas.....			41		
Louisiana.....			18		1
Arkansas.....			17		
Utah.....			102		
Mississippi.....			1		
Oklahoma.....			17	1	
Texas.....			7		
Connecticut.....		September, 1937.....	23	1	6
Maine.....			16		
Massachusetts.....			70	1	
New York.....			127	2	4
Vermont.....			7		
Illinois.....			87	1	
Iowa.....		Nov. 15, 1937.....	28		
Total.....			1246	6	21
Virginia Board of Public Welfare.....			70	1	
<i>High Schools</i>					
Oregon.....			42		
Michigan.....			77		
California.....			131		1
Grand Total.....			1566	7	22

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The Folklore of Capitalism. By THURMAN W. ARNOLD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Pp. vii+400. \$3.00.

Read this book. Not only because it will give you a lot of good, low-brow chuckles, but because it presents an amazingly scholarly and incisive application of the anthropological and sociological categories of myth, taboo, convention, and reverence to the contemporary political and economic scene.

The author's thesis may briefly be summed up as follows: The administration of human social affairs requires organizations, and organizations inevitably come into existence to which men attach themselves according to their individual needs and functions, and the services which different organizations can render them respectively. These organizations acquire authority and prestige and develop creeds, attitudes, institutional habits, and traditions. These various doctrines must of necessity be verbalized, and with the passage of time not only the ideas back of them but also the words in which they are expressed come to take on a divine or religious aspect. Each such organization is supposed to represent some profoundly right general principle, and all matters of practical concern are habitually referred to one or another of these principles. In the course of social change, the sensible practical applications of every principle are modified, while

the statement of the principle tends to remain rigid. There accordingly arises a conflict between institutionalized organizations and the practical needs of human individuals. There is an intrinsic urge in the human heart to justify every practical measure by reference to some one of those recognized, authoritarian principles. Those individuals who have profited, and are profiting, through the traditional functioning of a given organization are naturally insistent upon the maintenance of that organization and the principles which it is supposed to represent. Those who would benefit by change are therefore forced into the position of seeming to question or defy established principles, and therefore to be socially wrong.

Practical politicians know that actual behavior is not governed by abstractions or principles, but by response to immediate situations, and they are practical because they know how to reconcile the apparent clash so as to get the results they want. Practical and successful business men follow much the same procedure, but the avowed leaders and spokesmen of "Business" conduct their procedure in terms of reference to abstractions, and the maintenance of established organizations. Popular discussion of economic questions, and so much of thought as is represented in overt expressions, is therefore conducted in an atmosphere of myth and revelation which is essentially religious in character. Thereby true progress, that is, the adjustment of detailed procedures to the changing requirements of the general social environment, is impeded, with resultant hardship, injustice, and loss. Insofar as practical measures are worked out, there is an invariable effort to justify them by rationalizations based on abstract principles. Society accordingly inures itself to deprivation and impositions on the part of Business that it would not tolerate at the hands of Government.

Among the mythical elements which operate in contemporary society may be noted the assumption that business is still conducted by individuals, or by organizations that have the characteristics of individuals, that economic liberty and independence actually exist, and that capitalism is really a system of free enterprise. The chapter on "Taxation by Private Organization" is a gem of particularly fine water. And the chapter in which the author sets forth "Some Principles of Political Dynamics" is as good an example of the statement of actual sociological laws as one could easily find in the whole range of avowedly sociological literature. This volume will have a profound effect on the scientific thought of economists, sociologists, and political scientists. That it will not have as much effect upon the everyday behavior of the ordinary citizen as the hypothetical "thinking man" would desire is due to the operation of the very traits of human nature that the author so clearly sets forth. The occasional lack of clarity which is inseparable from the use of the ironic style is in Professor Arnold's case much more than compensated for by the pungency, vividness, and humor of his treatment, which will guarantee for his volume a far wider and more tolerant acceptance than its caustic characterizations could possibly hope for if couched in more conventional academic language.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

New York University

Nationalism and Culture. By RUDOLF ROCKER. New York: Covici-Friede, 1937. Pp. 574. \$3.50.

This book, originally intended for a German circle of readers, was to have appeared in Berlin in the autumn of 1933, but the turn of events in Germany prevented its publication. Subsequently, it was translated into English and thus has become available to a large number of readers. The author, born in Germany in 1873, was initiated as a youth into the Socialist movement in that country. The Socialist movement, however, did not hold him long because its interpretations were considered too dogmatic and narrow. He then came in contact with the libertarian movement and gradually became identified with libertarian circles in various countries.

Nationalism and Culture is a study of the destruction of man's cultural achievements by his quest for power. It is a large volume including over 500 pages of text, an extended bibliography, mainly from the German language, and an index. The treatment is philosophical in nature. The result is a thorough investigation of the philosophic truths pertaining to the subject as they emerge from the study of history. It is a scholarly production free from emotional bias.

The thesis of this work is that the quest for power, no matter what its source may be, tends to express itself through the medium of nationalism and all forms of culture are directed eventually toward this goal. The crystal-clear illustration of this trend is fascism, the last result of nationalistic ideology. This theory gives sanction to the slogan, "Everything for the state, nothing outside of the state, nothing against the state!" (p. 244). Even the democratic movement according to the author has not been free from the danger of misusing power, the justification for power being the common will. "Nothing," we read, "has so confirmed the internal and external security of the state as the religious beliefs in the sovereignty of the nation, confirmed and sanctioned by universal franchise" (p. 241). While we may agree that the nation is not the cause, but the result of the state, it seems impossible to believe that "every state organization, however, is an artificial mechanism imposed on men from above by some ruler, and it never pursues any other ends but to defend and make secure the interests of privileged minorities in society" (p. 200). In the opinion of this reviewer the author does not establish the validity of this statement as a general proposition, notwithstanding the fact that nations may reflect at times the interest of a privileged group.

Nevertheless, this book is an important contribution to political philosophy and as such will be of interest to sociologists. It is an excellent criticism and analysis of state worship, a phenomenon which deserves careful consideration today not only by sociologists but other social scientists as well. As a sociologist, one wishes that the author might have turned his search in history and philosophy to the pattern of national organization which would be divested of the evil desire for power, but which could develop and express the interest of people in the entity called the state. This is truly a problem of serious concern. For, "in spite of all social con-

vulsions we have not yet succeeded in finding an inner adjustment of the manifold desires and needs of the individual and the social ties of the community whereby they shall compliment each other and grow together. This is the first requisite of every great social culture" (p. 94). The balance between freedom of the individual and demands of the various groups of which he is a member constitute a perennial problem in social organization. The book gives the historical and philosophical description of the problem. Its solution is still a challenge to the future.

C. R. HOFFER

Michigan State College

Leadership in a Free Society. By T. N. WHITEHEAD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936. Pp. x+266. \$3.00.

Authority and the Individual. Harvard Tercentenary Publication, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. vii+371. \$3.00.

Problems of leadership, authority, and individualism in society probably engage the attention of sociologists at this time as much as anything else. These two books by the Harvard University Press add to our growing sociological literature in these fields, which have been relatively neglected up to the present time.

Professor Whitehead's *Leadership in a Free Society* has as its central thesis that "leadership must be directed by a sufficient understanding as to the factors involved in human well-being, and that society must retain the necessary cohesion to be capable of being intelligently led" (p. 240). His concern is primarily with leadership in modern industrial society. Leadership in industry in a democratic society is as much a sociological problem as an economic problem. The workers in their relationships with foremen, bosses, superintendents, and fellow-workers constitute a primary group in which are generated social attitudes that have a significant bearing upon economic productivity. Our modern industrial society suffers from a lack of essential social integration, because the employee has no interest in the purposes of his formal leaders, because the "employer recognizes no social obligations toward his hands" (p. 234), and because workers do not have "the opportunity for adequate partnership in a sufficient variety of satisfying and purposeful experiences" (p. 236). Leadership must be based on a cohesion that can come only from people doing things together in "understanding ways" and possessing a common respect for discipline and authority. Leadership in business organization has overlooked the need for social organization that will integrate the different population elements in industry into an understanding and sympathetic community. It is the opinion of the reviewer that Professor Whitehead in his analysis of the problem has under-estimated the difficulty of industrial leaders achieving such a desirable social integration in an industrial society dominated by such strong acquisitive impulses as ours and being increasingly assaulted by workers for higher wages. Nevertheless, industrial leadership is confronted with this alternative or something much more disturbing.

Coming to direct grip with the latest problem of the individual versus society in this disturbed social and economic period is the excellent symposium, *Authority and the Individual*, a volume of speeches delivered by noted social scientists at the Harvard Tercentenary Conference. These addresses are so compact and cover such a wide range of subjects that it is impossible to do justice to them by undertaking to evaluate each address separately. The titles of some of the addresses and their authors will be sufficient to direct sociologists interested in these questions to the book itself. Among the outstanding addresses are "Intelligence and the Guidance of Economic Evolution" by Wesley C. Mitchell; "The State and the Entrepreneur" by Douglas Barry Copeland, of the University of Melbourne; "Economic Nationalism" by William E. Rapard; "The Historical Pattern of Social Change" by R. M. MacIver; "Authority and Social Change" by John Dewey; "The Constitution as Instrument and as Symbol" by E. S. Corwin; "Centralization and Decentralization" by Hans Kelsen; and "Authority and the Individual During the Different Stages of the Evolution of Nations" by Corrado Gini. Nowhere will the sociologist interested in the problems of individual liberty and governmental and social control find a more timely, more authoritative, and more variegated discussion than in this book.

FRED R. YODER

The State College of Washington

Development of Economic Society (Economics and Social Institutions, vol. 1). By GEORGE MATTHEWS MODLIN and FRANK TRAVER DE VYVER. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937. Pp. x+474. \$1.50.

L'Economie Planifiée en U. R. S. S. et L'Economie Dirigée aux Etats-Unis. By LOLA ZAHN-GOLODETZ. Paris: Nizet et Bastard, 1937. Pp. 159.

Planned Society Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. Ed. by FINDLAY MACKENZIE. New York; Prentice-Hall, 1937. Pp. xxviii+989. \$3.75.

Technology, Corporations, and the General Welfare. By HENRY A. WALLACE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. 83. \$1.00.

Modlin and de Vyver's *Development of Economic Society* is written for textbook use in an elementary course in economics. It is the first of six "small" volumes under the editorship of Professor James G. Smith of Princeton, designed to give flexibility to the course and to facilitate keeping up-to-date by revision. This volume is a workmanlike job, a well planned and readably written review of the historical background of modern economic life, beginning with the medieval system of Western Europe, particularly England. It might have some appeal to the educated general reader. It is not a book for specialists, and a specialist in any sector of the field covered could find many things to criticize. For example, it is certainly crude, to put it mildly, to say that prices rose after the Black Death because supply declined more than demand, when per capita production presumably increased. (See page 79.)

Madame Zahn-Golodetz' *Etude Comparative* of the New Deal regime in the United States and the economic organization of Soviet Russia devotes the bulk of its space to the latter, giving a rather friendly historical and descriptive survey. It shows extensive reading and is soberly written, but is not remarkable either for special knowledge of fact or for economic insight. Its main thesis, that true economic "planning" is impossible under "capitalism," is undoubtedly sound as far as it goes; what it lacks is express and clear recognition that in such a statement "capitalism" means any society with an appreciable amount of either economic or political freedom.

Professor Mackenzie's *Planned Society* is a symposium containing thirty-nine papers, each the length of a lecture or journal article, by thirty-five different authors, prepared as a book of readings for class use. These figures do not include the Foreword by Lewis Mumford, or the Introduction by the editor, who also writes an exordium for each individual paper, but contributes no item in the main plan. The general impression left by the volume is one almost of wonder that so many good articles, carefully selected to deal with every topic in an elaborate outline on the general subject—four Parts, twenty-five subsections, and numerous subtopics under several of these—succeeds in saying so little about the fundamental issues connected with "planning." Many of the papers are historical or deal with questions of policy arising under any social system. Where the authors really come within hailing distance of "planning," they usually either favor it, or at least mean to give it the "breaks." Consequently we never get down to concrete detail as to possible forms of any central machinery of control or how they might be expected to work. What most needs clarification about centralized planning, i.e., collectivism or socialism, is the relation between economic and political problems, especially the fact that the crucial issues are political. Economics deals with principles of economy, which apply in connection with all sorts of ends of action, and might or might not be followed by an omnipotent government in the pursuit of any objective it might select, all of which has nothing to do with their validity. It is a practical certainty that a government which undertook to regulate in detail the economic life of a modern nation, in conformity with a plan laid down in advance, would have to be a dictatorship of the most drastic sort, even if its individual officials were all democratic idealists and haters of power—which is hardly likely to be the case. Moreover, experience and general reasoning converge in indicating that such a state would not seriously try to maximize production and the living standards of the masses, but would keep in power and maintain a minimum of national unity by directing the energies of the people into some romantic adventure, probably a "crusade" of some sort.

One of the ideals on which modern civilization rests is the principle that it is good to know the truth, even when the truth is unpleasant. On that principle, any "liberal," in the old-fashioned sense of a believer in social

organization in which the individual is allowed a reasonable maximum of freedom to live his own life, and not made an instrument of state policy or forced to consume his energy in political turmoil, ought to read the lectures by our present Secretary of Agriculture which are collected in the last volume under notice. He is a man whose influence is not to be despised, and his position in relation to the present political and economic situation is here stated with rather startling clarity and frankness. His implicit major premise, required to make sense of the argument as a whole, is that "business," embodied in "the corporation," is actually and inevitably a thorough-going monopoly. There is indeed no explicit mention of monopoly, and no recognition that "bargaining power," in terms of which the argument is stated, has no other meaning. The assumption is, of course absurd, and the author virtually admits as much in saying (p. 40) that "the individual corporation is practically powerless to do anything about" the evils, especially booms and depressions, which however are attributed to their "ignorant and selfish use of power" (p. 54). He does not mention the enormous losses of corporations and investors, which might make it seem doubtful whether the business cycle and depression is something "put over" on the country by them. As to the main actual cause of depressions, Mr. Wallace makes no reference whatever to the problems of money, in relation to which the propriety of governmental action has been undisputed for centuries, and there is no important conflict of interests involved, and no dispute as to jurisdiction.

The premise that business (a) is and (b) must be a monopoly once accepted, the rest of the argument follows logically, almost as a matter of course. The first step is to hasten the organization of labor and the farmer so as to give them "bargaining power" equal to that already possessed by the corporations (pp. 48, 49). When this requisite of "economic democracy" (p. 75) has been achieved, and the government has been given "power to serve the general welfare efficiently" (p. 74), and when the organized interests have listened to a sermon (by some undesignated "minister") on their "duty of serving the general welfare" (p. 75), they are all to sit down around a table and "negotiate" "sound policies as to wages, hours, prices, and profits" (p. 79). It is true that the lectures contain occasional sentences which, taken out of their context, explicitly recognize (a) reasonable doubt as to the ability of government to perform the task suggested (p. 62); (b) the danger that organized groups may tend to think in terms of "exerting pressure" to "get from society more than there is there" (p. 72); and especially (c) the danger in the government's giving its own power to such groups (p. 74); there is even a striking passage on (d) the possibility of "a regimentation of all types of activity in a manner completely abhorrent to the American temperament" (p. 75). But these are buried in a context completely opposite in import. The effect of the lectures as a whole is to advocate precisely these things. They constitute propaganda for a corporative dictatorship far more effective than would be possible from one who explicitly advocated such a regime. Reading the book makes one ponder

seriously as to the role of good intentions in political life, not to mention that of the teachings of economics, to which Mr. Secretary Wallace is by no means a stranger.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

The University of Chicago

Man and Society. Ed. by EMERSON P. SCHMIDT. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv+805. \$3.75.

An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems. Rev. ed. By WALTER GREENWOOD BEACH. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. Pp. xiv+370. \$2.25.

Man and Society is a new kind of orientation book for college freshmen. Thirteen social scientists, largely chosen from the University of Minnesota faculty, present a symposium from the "core of knowledge" and the limits of the fields of investigation of their various disciplines. Sociology, social anthropology, social psychology, human geography, political science, and economics are represented and there are also chapters devoted to history, psychology, and criminology, to "Causal Relationships and Their Measurement," and to "Social Valuation." Jurisprudence and social biology are not included, but this is perhaps understandable in terms of the conventional organization of the liberal arts curriculum.

Four sociologists and one sociologist-anthropologist (Wilson Wallis) are contributors to the volume. Elio Monachesi leads off with a well-written chapter on "Sociology and Culture" which devotes sixteen pages to the sociological field and method and then introduces the student to cultural sociology concepts. Joyce Hertzler, in his discussion of "Social Institutions" still clings¹ to a definition of institutions that includes general categories of behavior like "production" and "language" as well as specific organizational entities like the League of Nations and the Y.M.C.A. Half the chapter is devoted simply to enumerating modern institutional patterns of these diverse types. Herbert Blumer, writing on "Social Psychology," has summarized the object matter and the differing points of view in that discipline so ably that the chapter can be read with profit by graduate students. And although one may wonder at the inclusion of a criminology chapter, George Vold's survey of that field is also worth the attention of others beside college freshmen.

The other chapters in the book average high if they are judged from the point of view of conciseness and organization in the presentation of elementary material. The political science and economics chapters are especially compact with information and theory, and few concessions are made to freshman immaturity in these sections of the book. On the whole it may safely be said that a first year student who has mastered the subject

¹ Cf. Hertzler's *Social Institutions* (New York, 1929) and the review of the same by Everett C. Hughes in the *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, 35, 837-839.

matter contained in *Man and Society's* 800 pages will be in a position intelligently to select fields for further specialization and will also be ready for a fairly stiff course in the chosen disciplines. Whether he will be somewhat over-impressed with the apparent independence of the social sciences one from the other as a result of their separate treatment is a question. A "correlation chapter" at the end, taking up some one social problem and outlining the contributions of each discipline to its "solution" might be a useful addition to the book.

Professor Beach's *An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems* is little different in the revised edition from what it was when first published in 1925. Only a few minor changes have been made to bring statistical and other factual material up-to-date. Since the book is by now well enough known to most sociologists further comment by way of review seems unnecessary.

J. L. WOODWARD

Cornell University

The Crisis of Civilization. By HILAIRE BELLOC. New York: Fordham University Press, 1937. Pp. 245. \$2.50.

The Good Society. By WALTER LIPPMANN. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937. Pp. xxx+402. \$3.00.

Both these books condemn collectivism and propose ideal societies that are poles apart.

Belloc upholds as ideal the mediaeval guild system produced, he says, by Catholicism. The Reformation destroyed it, and released forces that have proletarianized the masses, substituted contract for status, generated monopoly and the materialism of Darwin and Marx whence have come the twin evils of capitalism and communism. The latter, sought as a remedy for the former, spells the doom of civilization. The real cure is a restoration of Catholicism and the guilds. Such is the conclusion reached after much distortion of history and fact in this book of frank Catholic propaganda.

Lippmann writes a brilliant challenge of existing political systems. All forms of state control from revolutionary Fascism and Communism to gradual collectivism under capitalism and the New Deal are condemned as coercive and false. Any planned or regulated economy is looked upon as beyond human power to comprehend or manage in the interest of technical progress, liberty and social well-being. It inevitably introduces labor conscription, rationed consumption, decreased production and military dictatorship. Poor countries have resorted to such war programs in peace times. There has also been at large a gradual trend since 1870 in this direction until at last it threatens to engulf the world.

This movement started from a mistaken notion of laissez-faire emphasized by the Classical Economists in the theory of Natural Law which was used to justify property interest following the industrial revolution. Under this doctrine corporations and monopolies developed together with governmental regulation and the collectivistic trend toward ruin.

Instead of any sort of collectivism Lippmann proposes the achievement of "Good Society" by the recovery of Liberalism. For political regulation he would substitute adjudication of rights and duties on the basis of law. Control would be left chiefly to the reciprocal action of persons and interests with but little overhead direction. Thus, "Free Markets" would be secured and maintained, production increased and progress guaranteed as by no other means possible to our economy, for it has been by emancipation from authority that this economy has arisen, giving liberty and justice. This "Good Society" is not something to be planned or imposed; it must be slowly builded as the alternative to military collectivism.

While this book raises fundamental issues and helps to clarify them somewhat, it settles none of them, because of its own fallacious assumptions and erroneous methods. "Free Market," which is made the *deus ex machina* of the industrial system, is magnified to mythological proportions and significance unjustified by facts. A little attention to developments of extensive collectivism as found, say, in the Scandinavian countries, might have saved him from the egregious mistake of identifying it of necessity with misery and dictatorship. Lippmann proves himself to be a fair logician but a poor scientist by deducing conclusions largely from premises to the neglect of inductive analysis of social data. His clever phrases lead him so far from reality as to make all controlled economics look dangerous.

His "Good Society" is every bit as utopian as collectivism. If the latter is, as he thinks, only for supermen, by the same token Good Society is only for angels. For, despite his disclaimers, it is a kind of natural-law, mechanistic order verging on anarchism, and requiring as much human perfection as he demands for social planners. Since, moreover, the social trend has been toward collectivism one wonders if that wouldn't be repeated under "Good Society." Somehow men haven't acted as Lippmann thinks they should and I have a hunch they wouldn't act as he thinks they would in his utopia.

NEWELL L. SIMS

Oberlin College

The Soviets. By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1937. Pp. xiii+554. \$3.00.

Return from the U.S.S.R. By ANDRÉ GIDE. Translated from the French by Dorothy Bussy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937. Pp. xvi+94. \$1.00.

Moscow: 1937. By LION FEUCHTWANGER. Translated by Irene Josephy. New York: The Viking Press, 1937. Pp. xiii+151. \$2.00.

Most systematic and detailed of the three volumes is the encyclopedic work by Williams, a man who knows intimately Soviet life and literature. Organized around eighty-eight searching questions he presents in a fascinating style a wealth of information indispensable to those who wish to understand events and trends under Bolshevik rule.

Gide's little book was written with mixed feelings, enthusiasm for the achievements, disappointment at what he regarded as the "compromises"

and "deviations" of the Soviet regime. In particular he was distressed by the insistence upon conformity in public opinion, in art, and in literature, the ignorance of the Soviet citizen concerning foreign countries, the extraordinary indolence and inertia of the masses, the preliminary signs of the development of a new workers' bourgeoisie, and the indifference shown to servants, unskilled workers, and poor people.

Feuchtwanger states that he, like Gide, arrived at the Soviet frontier sympathetic, curious, and doubting. After his visit he remained silent for his experiences to crystallize until his conscience forced him to answer Gide's criticisms. An eyewitness at the Moscow trial of Pyatakov and Radek, he explains its significance in terms of the clash of the ideologies, personalities, and followers of Trotsky, the disappointed revolutionist, and of Stalin, the organizer of socialism.

Published in the year of the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, all three books are addressed to the general public and not to the social scientist. Each in its own way testifies to the termination of the revolutionary phases of Bolshevik rule. But none of them deals in any basic manner with problems of real interest to the sociologist, such as an objective account of the actual workings of Soviet institutions, an impartial inquiry into the new mechanisms of social control and action, and an explanation of present events and trends in the perspective of a natural history of the revolutionary cycle.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

University of Chicago

Goliath, The March of Fascism. By G. A. BORGESE. New York: The Viking Press, 1937. Pp. ix+483. \$3.00.

This absorbing book is an interpretation of the Fascist movement in the light of a survey of Italian culture-history from Dante to the present. It eschews documentation and undertakes to set forth little that is new in the way of fact. Borgese writes as an emigré intellectual, a litterateur rather than historian, dominated by viewpoints akin to Mazzinian liberalism. He summarizes his goal as "a peaceful but ardent collaboration of all mankind toward human perfection, and a rational religion disentangled from all mythological superstition" (p. 63). From this standpoint the Fascist movement is the epitome of evil, an attempt to break a cultural tradition whose continuity leads back to Plato and Christ (p. 466).

The principal contribution of Borgese to social analysis lies in his summary rejection of "pan-economism" and "pan-sexualism" as principles of historical explanation. He seeks to interpret Fascism as the outgrowth of collective myths of the Italian people which began their tragic course in Dante's dream of the Holy Roman Empire. He recognizes that the social composition of the Fascist movement embraces a decadent plutocracy and frustrated lower middle-class skill groups, and that economic unrest is a factor in its spread outside Italy. But the real dynamic has been the collective myth which envisaged Rome as the political center of the world.

Similarly "the real core of Nazism is the medieval universal Roman Empire of the German Nation" (p. 366).

Borgese is inclined to find Nazism more rational than Fascism, and more successful. He insists that, given the appropriate situation, Fascism will have as profound racial antipathies as Nazism. He insists, without the evidence which the claim seems to demand, that the Vatican has been converted into a tool of Fascist-Nazi expansion. Mussolini himself is the quintessence of rugged individualism, of Stirnerite anarchism, with a compulsion to realize his ambitions by the age of 55. Great Britain could have thwarted the Fascist spread, but failed to do so, through failure to realize the existence of sheer evil, and through class and religious apprehensions as to what might replace Fascism in Italy. Borgese is shrewd in his international interpretations, but when it comes to answering the supposed apprehensions of the British governing class, he becomes mystical and apocalyptic. His book as a whole becomes then a fascinating exhibit of the strength and weakness of aesthetic impression as a method of investigation and analysis.

LELAND H. JENKS

Wellesley College

Democracy in Transition. By a Group of Social Scientists in the Ohio State University. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937. Pp. xiv+361. \$2.50.

The anti-democratic movements throughout the world during the last decade and the stress and strain brought by the recent depression on our own political institutions have brought a plethora of books and other literature on democracy and its future. *Democracy in Transition* by a group of social scientists in the Ohio State University is dedicated to the memory of the late Walter J. Shephard, political scientist, long-time student and enthusiast of democracy and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of the Ohio State University at the time of his death. The title of the book is the same as the title of Dean Shephard's presidential address to the American Political Science Association in 1934. Plans were under way for the preparation of the book under Dean Shephard's leadership just before his untimely death in 1936.

This book is unique in two respects: (1) it approaches the problems of democracy from the point of view of "the whole fabric of American life," and (2) it is "a co-ordinated statement of the problems considered" by seventy professors who were Dean Shephard's colleagues at the Ohio State University. While the book was written by a committee, all seventy of the professors listed in the preface "contributed" to the book. It is not a book of essays by the different contributors, but is a co-ordinated treatment of the major aspects of American life that involve the democratic process. Democracy is conceived broadly by the authors as embracing the economic, the political, the social, the recreational, the cultural, and the intellectual phases of American society. Boldly, the authors point out the "promise

and fulfillment" of American democracy, and even more boldly state what they think are the immediate practicable steps to be taken along various lines to help democracy fulfill its promise in a critical transition period. Many of the suggestions made are in line with New Deal liberalism. Distinct merits of the book are its sanity, balance, comprehensiveness, conciseness, clearness, and definiteness. Every analysis and proposal has the ring of having been written by a specialist who knows his subject. One-sided proposals are avoided, no doubt because of the contributions, criticisms, and judgments of a large number of social scientists. While the book is directed primarily to the intelligent, interested laymen, it will prove stimulating and refreshing to all sociologists interested in the problems of democracy.

An objection may be raised that the interrelations of the different phases of democracy are not very well shown, and that the various reforms proposed are not sufficiently co-ordinated. But the authors have undertaken a big task and the broad sweep of the book compensates for the necessary limitations under which a book of this kind must be written. The critical scholars of political democracy, after finishing the book, may also feel that the group of social scientists are too optimistic in what should be expected in the way of reforms from the masses of voters and from legislators, handicapped as they are by such anti-democratic forces as great economic and social inequalities, large-scale economic and political organization, threatening insecurity, conflicting sectional and class interests, powerful group pressures, and special interest propaganda. The reviewer suggests that a good companion book to re-read at this time, along with *Democracy in Transition*, is the late Professor Graham Wallas's *Human Nature in Politics*, written some twenty years ago, but most timely now because of its realistic analysis of non-rational political behavior, which was never more clearly manifested than during the last two decades.

FRED R. YODER

State College of Washington

Research Memoranda on Social Aspects of the Depression. 13 titles. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937. \$10.00: \$1.00 each.

It is a truism to remark that an economic depression such as that following the years 1929-1930 is not confined in its influence solely to economic institutions. The all too apparent fact is that these influences permeate the entire social structure, and their ramifications are felt by every social institution. Simple as this observation is, it is not easy to indicate the nature of the repercussions upon social institutions except in a most general way; the subtler effects still require intensive study and detailed research. It was this fact that led to the appointment of a special committee of the Social Science Research Council two years ago, designated as The Committee on Studies in Social Aspects of the Depression, consisting of Professor William F. Ogburn, chairman, Dr. Shelby Harrison, and Professor Malcolm M. Willey. From this committee has come a series of thirteen

monographs, prepared by a staff under the direction of Dr. Samuel Stouffer of the University of Chicago, who worked in co-operation with a group of authors, each of whom is a specialist in the field on which he has written. The list follows: *Research Memorandum on Crime in the Depression*. Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania. (133 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Education in the Depression*. The Educational Policies Commission. (173 pp.) *Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression*. Samuel A. Stouffer, University of Chicago, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, University of Newark, with the assistance of A. J. Jaffe. (220 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression*. Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation, Miami University. (86 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression*. Donald Young, University of Pennsylvania. (252 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Recreation in the Depression*. Jesse F. Steiner, University of Washington. (124 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Religion in the Depression*. Samuel C. Kincheloe, Chicago Theological Seminary. (158 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression*. Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University. (169 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Consumption in the Depression*. Roland S. Vaile, University of Minnesota, with the assistance of Helen G. Canoyer. (86 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Health in the Depression*. Selwyn D. Collins, U. S. Public Health Service, and Clark Tibbitts, U. S. Public Health Inventory. (192 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Reading Habits in the Depression*. Douglas Waples, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago. (228 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Relief Policies in the Depression*. R. Clyde White, University of Chicago, and Mary K. White, Chicago Council of Social Agencies. (173 pp.) *Research Memorandum on Social Work in the Depression*. F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, and Stuart A. Queen, Washington University. (134 pp.)

It is not intended that each monograph should be in itself a research contribution, and based on exhaustive analysis of original data. To the contrary, the purpose was to prepare volumes that would indicate the nature of the problems engendered by the depression to which research attention should be directed. Each author has sought (1) to survey existing data that might profitably be used as the basis for extended studies by others; (2) to reveal the points at which gaps in data appear, which must be filled if important questions are to be answered concerning the influences of the depression; and (3) to formulate some of these questions or problems that require further study. In short, the studies are guide-books to further research. As such, it is hoped they will be useful to teachers of social sciences in focusing attention on lines of study that may profitably be studied. Certainly they constitute a body of information around which research seminars might be oriented; and likewise, they might well serve graduate students who are looking for problems for their own research purposes. The significance of the series, however, is far more fundamental, and broader than this, since they do draw together and systematically discuss the problems that are associated with one of the most unsettling periods in the recent history of social institutions.

The full series, paper bound, may be purchased from the Social Science Research Council for ten dollars; the individual monographs are available for one dollar apiece.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

University of Minnesota

The Marginal Man. By EVERETT V. STONEQUIST. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. Pp. 228. \$1.60.

Jamaica: the Blessed Island. By LORD OLIVIER. London: Faber and Faber, 1936. Pp. 466. 21 shillings.

The first volume, according to its author, was inspired by Dr. Robert E. Park's concept of the "marginal man," and is supported by an illuminating introduction by Dr. Park which orients it in a broader universe. As Professor Stonequist describes the marginal man, he is a more or less frustrated individual, poised uncertainly between two or more social worlds, reflecting in his soul the tensions and discords of this distracting incertitude. The author selects for his examples such conspicuous racial and cultural hybrids as the American Negro, the Jew, and the Eurasian, who are torn between two cultures and required to accommodate themselves to both. His emphasis is upon individuals who, by virtue of this ambivalence, are without firm rooting in either culture. Dr. Park interprets the marginal type not only as one in process of acculturation, but as one emancipated from the binding traditions and provincialisms of a single culture. He may thus become, "relatively to his culture milieu the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint." "The marginal man," he says, "is always, relatively, the more civilized human being."

The marginal man in an uncomfortable predicament may, according to the author, make adjustment in several ways. He may become nationalistic, or intermediary, because he lacks sufficient solidarity, or, he may become assimilated. The maladjustment of the marginal man may range from mere *malaise* to insanity. The most difficult situations are those in which neither assimilation nor nationalism is feasible. In such cases the author suggests "equality of public rights, and loyalty to the state, combined with cultural freedom." Such a course, he thinks, will accomplish political unity and economic co-operation while leaving each group free to follow its distinctive cultural life. This, however, seems merely an attempt at a political solution of familiar race problems. It is not suggested how two groups in contact can freely pursue their own cultural lives while co-operating economically and politically, without producing marginal men in the very nature of the author's definition of cultural marginality.

The author of the second volume, Lord Olivier, is a former Governor of Jamaica and has been for many years an official in the Colonial service. His story of the island reveals an extensive knowledge of its history and a penetrating understanding of its people. His sympathies for the Negro peasantry are undisguised and he sees the fullest development of Jamaica to be that of a truly island-community for a self-sustaining peasantry with

an "exceptional, privileged, responsible destiny." This island population provides an example of the way in which the problems of mixed racial communities can be most happily solved.

Lord Olivier sees the realization of the high destiny of Jamaica in peasant proprietorship of the land. Since the abolition of slavery in 1838, this process has been slowly going on, but in 1930, 56 percent of the area of the island was concentrated in 1391 properties whose average size was 1000 acres.

The pressing need of the island is that of making the large estates and Crown lands available for purchase by the peasants. This is slowly taking place, but very slowly, if we are to judge by the fact that only two of the large properties were made available for peasant purchase between 1920 and 1930.

The book is a comprehensive treatment by a well-informed student of intimate phases of the social life of the island. The history of colonial policy involving both good and bad government is followed from the date of the island's conquest. The topography and the story of the use of its natural resources are meticulously described. There is deep sympathy and insight in depicting the life of the people themselves, and on the question of labor the author has a significant and valuable contribution to make. Although his basic assumption is that the people are expatriated Africans rather than Englishmen, he takes pains to remind his readers that no element of Jamaican population is better or worse than the corresponding element in English society.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Fisk University

Differential Psychology: Individual and Group Differences in Behavior. By Anne Anastasi. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xvii + 615. \$3.50.

Sociologists and social psychologists should be highly grateful to Dr. Anastasi for having brought together in one compact volume so comprehensive a collection of the voluminous material on the nature and genesis of individual and group differences that has been amassed by her fellow psychologists. I doubt that any sociologist, unless he is a specialist in the field, will find himself familiar with more than a very small fraction of the studies evaluated in this study. It should do much to break down the barrier which still exists all too frequently between sociological psychologists and psychological sociologists when tilling the same soil.

This is not to say that Dr. Anastasi has successfully assimilated the contributions and the point of view of the sociologist with the traditional psychological approach. I fail to find any reference in her excellent work to a single article in any sociological journal, nor does she otherwise refer *in extenso* to the work of any sociologist even when reviewing topics with which sociologists have concerned themselves, such as the question of racial differences. This neglect of the sociological aspects of the subject may be

justified on the grounds that she is concerned primarily with individual differences, and only secondarily if at all with personality differences. Yet it is doubtful if the two can be successfully divorced.

A work of this type largely consisting as it does of classifying and summarizing the work of others could easily become merely a matter of dull and pedestrian cataloguing. Though the amount of material that Dr. Anastasi critically examined must have been enormous, the work rarely sinks to the level of the merely routine. Every study is subjected to keen and penetrating analysis, and the studies under review are logically organized about significant topics. Her treatment of certain subjects such as training vs. mental growth, the mental organization of the individual, and sex and racial differences should be found particularly valuable. Her discussion of the nature and measurement of differences in intelligence discloses a completeness of grasp and breadth of understanding rarely encountered in treatises on the subject.

Throughout her work, Dr. Anastasi stresses the significance of experience and training as causes of individual "behavioral" differences rather than inborn differences in structure. Structural variations she regards as being almost entirely the consequence of variations in specific hereditary constitution. However, "within the limits set by the individual's structural characteristics, there are almost infinite possibilities for varied behavioral development." Whenever differences are encountered that can be explained either in structural or in experiential terms, Dr. Anastasi is inclined to favor the latter explanation.

In many instances the exposition might have gained in clarity had the writer possessed a grasp of concepts that have come to be sociological commonplaces. Thus, because in general she shows a greater familiarity with the work of her anthropological colleagues than she does with her sociological ones, she tends to identify the cultural with the social; statistical category is not clearly distinguished from social group, and there is insufficient consideration of the importance of differences in social role and social situation in bringing about differences in behavior.

But it is just because it is written from a psychological point of view and so admirably organizes the best that the psychologists have done in the field that this will be found a valuable and useful reference work by sociologists interested in the problem of individual differences.

J. A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College

Are American Teachers Free? An Analysis of Restraints upon the Freedom of Teaching in American Schools. By HOWARD K. BEALE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1936. Pp. xxiv+855. \$3.50.

This volume, which is the twelfth of the notable Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association, is a study of freedom of teaching in schools below college grade since the war. A master of the long art of the historian, Beale has displayed unusual

diligence and resourcefulness in collecting materials, great devotion to truth in verifying his facts, and rare literary skill in handling a vast mass of information. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by a frank and careful description of methods of gathering and using materials. For obvious reasons, much of the information has had to be presented anonymously.

The book is long, but every sentence makes some point and every page advances the discussion. The book is too detailed to admit of a résumé. It must suffice to say that every sort of violation of freedom is covered and the peculiar situation of every type of school is discussed at length. Necessarily, it is a book which the tender-minded will find depressing. Always and everywhere the teacher is the servant of the community, and he is tied to the religion and the morality of his fellow-citizens. Nowhere is the teacher who dissents from the established consensus safe in his position. Principles of academic freedom have little to do with the case. Most of the teachers do not even realize that they are not free. It seems plain that Beale's factual survey does not support the volume of Conclusions and Recommendations which the Commission published some years ago.

Beale has put us greatly in his debt by his splendid factual statement, but he has not succeeded very well in interpreting his data. There is no really fundamental analysis of the social situations within which violations of freedom arise. Moral judgments abound, and the author seems to have little realization that the "hypocrites" whom he condemns are also playing their parts in the process of social change.

WILLARD WALLER

Barnard College

Education in a Democracy. By ALONZO F. MYERS and CLARENCE O. WILLIAMS. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937. Pp. 434. \$3.00.

The Teacher of the Social Studies. By WILLIAM C. BAGLEY and THOMAS ALEXANDER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. Pp. 328. \$2.00.

Social Learning. By DONNAL V. SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. Pp. 292 \$1.60.

The Functions of a Graduate School in a Democratic Society. By LAURENCE FOSTER. New York: Huxley House Publishers, 1936. Pp. 166. \$2.50.

Education in a Democracy by Myers and Williams gives a comprehensive account of the structure and operation of the American school system, of the historic and contemporary forces influencing it, and of current and impending changes in its status and functioning. While it was written primarily as a textbook for courses in Introduction to Education, and while it is admirably adapted to that purpose, it is also a very useful volume for giving the reader who stands outside the field of technical education a picture of the American school system. The description is at all points correct; the materials are well chosen, well organized, and clearly and force-

fully presented. The style has none of the patronizing quality that its purpose as an elementary textbook might suggest. On the contrary, the style is dignified and forceful. The authors show a wide and sound acquaintance with the literature of the broad fields upon which they draw, including the literature of sociology. The reviewer knows of no other single volume from which the relatively lay reader could get so well-balanced and interestingly presented account of what is going on in the modern American school as this one presents.

The volume by Bagley and Alexander is one of the series of reports of the American Historical Association's Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, the whole report of which is published in fifteen volumes plus a volume of Conclusions and Recommendations. This particular volume deals with the professional aspects of selection and training of teachers for the social studies in the elementary and secondary schools of Europe and America. The first 80 pages of the volume give a factual picture of the academic and professional training of teachers of the social studies in America, who are to teach, or are now teaching, at the elementary and secondary level; and also other personal data about such teachers. The next 155 pages describe the professional status and training of teachers of the social studies in Germany, France, Sweden, and England. The bulk of this space is devoted to Germany, where the aims and methods of teaching in the lower schools are described as well as the training of teachers. The remaining 80 pages are given to appendices. As its authorship and its sponsorship would suggest, this volume is a mine of useful and dependable evidence of much interest and importance to all who are concerned about the competency of the teaching of social studies throughout the world, and the extent of freedom of teaching in that field.

In *Social Learning* Professor Smith has given teachers a volume of very concrete aids for teaching the social studies to youth in the secondary schools. While the title is a challenging one, it is probably somewhat misleading. Perhaps a more truly descriptive title would be "Vital Learning." The book is made up of realistic and well-motivated units from the social studies on themes entering vitally into real life. It is only in this sense that the term "Social" is used. There is a very brief discussion of relevant educational theory covering the first 36 pages, and some briefer theoretical discussions introducing some of the units. The remainder of the volume is made up of illustrative units of subject matter in outline form, all with ample bibliographical references and some of the units worked out in much detail. A few narrative accounts of classroom procedures are included. The concrete detail with which the illustrative sections are treated, and the specific character of the references to content material, will make the book very helpful to classroom teachers of the social studies in the secondary schools. The only objection the reviewer finds to the book is its format, especially the glaring boxed paragraph headings.

The volume by Foster is more factual in character than its title would suggest. In Chapter II Dr. Foster displays the standing of the leading American universities on nearly thirty criteria of recognition. These in-

clude: the list of departments approved for graduate instruction by the committee of the American Council on Education, the number of Social Research fellows, the number of National Research Council fellows, starred Men of Science, Graduates listed in *Who's Who in America*, etc. The details of the American Council's findings are given in a large chart included as a folder. On the basis of data assembled from the separate tables a combined table is presented showing the rank order of the sixteen most outstanding universities of America. This very interesting and useful chapter is followed by others in which Dr. Foster makes general recommendations for the enrichment of the graduate curriculum and in which he calls attention to desirable lines of development and needed facilities in certain selected universities. The suggestions he makes are sound ones which appeal to common sense, but they are such as students of this problem already have at heart, so that they constitute little that is new. The most useful chapters in the book are Chapter II, in which the extensive array of facts about the comparative recognition accorded different universities is given, and Chapter III in which the outstanding facilities of a number of selected universities are described.

CHARLES C. PETERS

Pennsylvania State College

The Daily Newspaper in America. By ALFRED M. LEE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. xiv+797. \$4.75.

Newspapers and the News: An Objective Measurement of Ethical and Unethical Behavior by Representative Newspapers. By SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, HORNEILL HART and ASSOCIATES. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937. Pp. xi+238. \$2.50.

A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China. By LIN YUTANG. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. 179. \$2.00.

"*I See by the Papers.*" By THE CHICAGO CHAPTER OF THE SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY COUNCIL. Chicago: Social Work Publicity Council, 1937. Pp. 60. \$1.00.

In telling the story of the newspaper, Lee has a few fixed sociological points in mind: that newspaper innovations depend upon antecedent conditions rather than the throbbing of great minds; reflect the pattern of cultural change; become interwoven into the institutional fabric of the daily; and often produce maladjustments. Lee's version of the newspaper as a social institution presents a noteworthy departure in dealing with the general range of newspaper facts. The detailed accounts of business organization and practices and labor relations deserve especial attention.

One part of *Newspapers and the News* is devoted to previous newspaper investigations. The other is a study of the ethical and unethical aspects of news content. For this purpose, indexes are devised to measure sensationalism, news interests and bias in presentation. Papers are ranked according to these criteria. Validity of the findings will depend upon the extent to which you agree with definition of terms and usefulness of broad categories for the appraisal of news items.

Lin Yutang, the adept stylist, traces the development of Chinese journalism and public opinion around one central theme: the weakness of the Chinese press as an

informational agency and a force in molding opinion because of the absence of a Bill of Rights, rigid censorship, and persecution against dissenters. Periodicals still give way to gossip, unbroken through hundreds of years.

I See by the Papers is an analysis of the space allotted social work activities by five Chicago dailies. Methods are suggested to enable the social agencies to gain better recognition in the press.

FRANK HARRIS

Elmira College

What Man has Made of Man: A Study of the Consequences of Platonism and Positivism in Psychology. By MORTIMER J. ADLER. (With an Introduction by Dr. Franz Alexander.) New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1937. Pp. xix+246. \$3.50.

Whatever the virtues of this work, a decent respect for the *recent* opinions of mankind is not among them. Ostensibly an examination of the method, place and function of modern psychology, it turns out to be a sweeping indictment of modern science and philosophy for having strayed from the metaphysical rectitude of the Aristotelian-Thomist tradition. To the four lectures given before the Institute of Psychoanalysis, which constitute the first half of the book, Dr. Adler has added a preface, a commentary of sixty-two extended notes, and a brief epilogue. Dr. Alexander adds a novel touch by sending the book on its way with an introduction voicing a pointed and emphatic disagreement with each of the author's main theses, and damning him with faint praise.

The main lines of Dr. Adler's argument are as follows. The intellectual confusions of the present have resulted from the neglect of Aristotle's distinction between science, as investigative knowledge, and philosophy, which is non-investigative, i.e., dealing not with special fact but with first principles. The author is apparently untroubled by the fact that in this scheme mathematics becomes "an abstraction from physics," all modern research on the foundations of mathematics to the contrary notwithstanding. But, the argument continues, the science of psychology is peculiar in being philosophical in method but particular in subject-matter. The neglect of the philosophical portion has led to the modern positivistic conception of man. This low estate in man's interpretation of man was unconsciously abetted by that benign villain, Plato, who, by separating the soul from the body, made it easy for the positivists to eschew the rational and spiritual faculties of man. The twin exaggerations of Platonism and positivism, which have frustrated European philosophy and psychology ever since Descartes, can be corrected only by Aristotelian formal-materialism, which, incidentally, would also correct the historicism and positivism of the dialectical materialists. But most of all, the balancing influence of formal-materialism is needed in psychoanalysis, the new science of man, where the true philosophical psychology of Aristotle and St. Thomas must supplant Freud's corrupt metapsychology, and consciously supplement and direct the taxonomic, physiognomic and therapeutic findings of scientific psychoanalysis.

This strange medley of old and new ideas produces bedfellows far more strange than those credited to politics. Aristotle is to rescue Marx from the perils of materialistic monism, and St. Thomas must help protect Freud from the influence of Plato's mad psychology. But in spite of this learned humbug, the book contains many suggestive analogies, and occasional flashes of rare insight. The author, obviously a man of wide reading and acute perceptions, is deeply disturbed by the shallowness of modern positivism. It is most unfortunate that these valuable talents are devoted to the hopeless cause of resuscitating a revered but irretrievable vision, instead of searching for the solution of modern problems in modern terms.

Dr. Adler has rendered his text unnecessarily dull by presenting it in outline form. The book has no index—a serious omission; for were St. Thomas alive today he would surely have included one.

OTTO F. KRAUSHAAR

Smith College

America's Progress in Civilization. By GEORGE EARL FREELAND and JAMES T. ADAMS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. Pp. xxv+604. \$1.48.

This volume differs from some currently used social science texts in the elementary grades and in high school in that it seeks definitely to create confidence in America. In doing this the authors state that they are following a recommendation of the *Charter for the Social Sciences* which urged upon teachers the desirability of creating "rich and many-sided personalities, inspired by ideals, so that they can make their way and fulfill their mission in a changing society." The book abounds in superlatives, "the most important document ever written," "the biggest iron mines," "the most romantic stories," "striking developments," "modern giant workers." Every section of the country apparently shares in these examples of growth. The final picture is marred somewhat by unemployment, slums and relief, but it is distinctly one that looks toward a better America. Such an America "looking out upon a world in which there were no more wars, would be a very interesting place in which to live" (p. 545). The volume is enlivened by many illustrations and by a long list of annotated readings. The short list of dates, the authors' own "March of Time," stops short with 1929, the depression, but the text mentions the Social Security Act as important in marking the beginning of a new form of social aid.

GUY V. PRICE

Teachers College
Kansas City, Mo.

The Press and World Affairs. By ROBERT W. DESMOND. With an Introduction by Harold J. Laski. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937. Pp. xxv+421. \$3.25.

The "alibiographies" of foreign correspondents have furnished the bulk of information available to the non-specialist regarding the channels through which American daily newspapers obtain their news of foreign events, regarding the complicated role of the press on the broad stage of international affairs. Doctor Desmond, however, even though a newspaperman with broad foreign and domestic experience in the employ of an American newspaper, has produced the first detached

and comprehensive study of this amazingly complicated field. The fact that he served the *Christian Science Monitor* rather than such a sheet as *The Chicago Daily Tribune* explains, in part but in part only, his useful achievement. His book, an outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation for the University of London School of Economics and Political Science, gives substantial evidence that he was impelled by an insatiate curiosity rather than by an urge to justify or glorify his or his profession's role in world affairs. In addition to searching the tremendous literature on his subject and furnishing in his lengthy footnotes a detailed guide to it, he brought to his work firsthand observations of newsgathering in such news centers as London, Paris, Geneva, Rome, Berlin, Washington, and New York.

While the book is compact, it does not suffer from over-condensation or oversimplification. Desmond describes in a lucid and accurate fashion the significant trends in the presses of the world as they are pertinent to his treatment, the day-by-day problems and the technics of the correspondent, and the actual sources used to gain records of specific events in the leading news centers. He is on to the fact that "Newspapers are the products of three autocratic groups—the persons who own them, the persons who make them, and the persons who read them." He does not assume from this, however, as have many professional rationalists, that the maladjustments in our press are due to the "persons who read them." He concludes, rather:

The business mentality grips and governs most of the press of the United States and of Great Britain. It is a factor of importance in determining what appears in the newspapers and in what way it appears. Because they have great fortunes invested in the publishing properties, owners take every step to protect their investments and, while this is natural, the public often suffers.

ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

Institute of Human Relations
Yale University

Scholarship and Democracy. By J. B. JOHNSTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. vi+113. \$1.25.

The Nature of a Liberal College. By HENRY M. WRISTON. Appleton, Wisconsin: Lawrence College Press, 1937. pp. 177. \$1.75.

Depression, Recovery and Higher Education. A Report by Committee Y of the American Association of University Professors. Draft prepared by Malcolm M. Willey. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937. Pp. vii+543. \$4.50.

Trends of Professional Opportunities in the Liberal Arts College. By Merle Kuder. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937. Pp. ix+133. Appendix of Tables and Charts 102 pp. additional. \$2.35.

Teaching the Social Studies. By Edgar Bruce Wesley. New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1937. Pp. xiv+635. \$2.80.

Accepting the hypothesis that the function of colleges is to "train for the public interest those who are outstanding in intellect and character," Dean Johnston deplors the large number of academically unqualified freshmen

(about one-half of them) who clutter the classroom, libraries and laboratories of colleges of liberal arts today submerging talent, weakening the powers of the most competent and later becoming disillusioned themselves. There can be little question about his facts; but one may argue over the validity of his hypothesis. This is a function of philosophy. Dr. Johnston rises to the occasion and becomes a philosopher himself. He points out the need of high standards for leaders in an increasingly complex society. These high standards cannot be obtained in colleges "bogged down" with students who fail to rise to scientific levels of thinking. As a solution to the current impasse, Dr. Johnston recommends different type schools to meet the needs of different levels of ability. As an alternative, he suggests that those with low college aptitudes be charged high fees, and those with special talents be given free tuition as long as their college work is outstanding.

Dr. Johnston's book abounds with ideas and facts. The following illustrates the provocative nature of the findings: "In 1931 to 1935 of the children of the well-to-do 42 percent became successful students and 6.5 percent secured honor standing. Of the children of the poor, including those who received Federal aid, 58 percent became successful students and 15 percent secured honor standing."

No doubt there are many competent philosophers who will disagree with Dean Johnston's fundamental hypothesis. They will say that Dr. Johnston's evidence shows the failure of the arts college to meet the needs of the people for an education in accord with their abilities and that an adjustment should be in the college program.

President Wriston outlines for the liberal arts college a somewhat different program. His collection of essays and public addresses on the liberal college all center around the theme: "a liberal education consists in the acquisition and the refinement of standards of values—all sorts of values—physical, intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, and spiritual." The institutional form, then, should provide for an element of "cloistered seclusion" free from the "exigencies of government and trade" so that "culture" may be attained. Furthermore, students should not be nagged about "the mere economic aspects of survival" or confused by "setting material comfort above intellectual enrichment." Since the liberal college is organized for "the regeneration of the individual student," faculty members must be the kind who inspire students to higher self-realization through a perception of *permanent values*. This can be done by their example, their personal relations with students, and their instruction in the basic (non-practical) disciplines.

The book is an excellent statement of the viewpoint of the liberal arts college. One can question, however, whether a "cloistered, cultural" education will ever become functional.

As important, perhaps, as the problem of purpose is the problem of the functioning and continuance of higher education in an age of recurring economic crises. The problem is ably treated in a comprehensive, objective and clearly written report of Committee Y: Effect of Depression and Recovery on Higher Education of the A.A.U.P. It is based upon painstaking

investigations—largely statistical and covers the status of the profession during depression years, finances of higher education, enrollments, degrees, student problems, the relation of government to higher education and public relations. The investigation showed “in general, that except in the lowest rank of employment, aggregate employment held its level, and has since moved to a new high point; that the median salary reduction was approximately 15 percent, that restorations are now taking place, although lagging.”

The report continues with great care to point out numerous significant educational trends developed or enhanced by the depression. It states that faculty control over institutional policy is lessening; that enrollments which showed a decrease during the depression by about 8 percent are now on the increase; that this increase, coupled with higher costs of education, present an educational dilemma because of the growth in the percentage of students coming from lower economic levels; that the assumption of more and more control by state governments has introduced “an entering wedge of political influence”; that the New Deal educational agencies have created a problem of educational adjustment; and that oath bills indicate a possible lack of public confidence in education and show the necessity for colleges to interpret their work to the general public.

The report concludes with some recommendations. Higher education must turn from “opportunism” to self-examination and a determination of purposes which must be made clear to the public lest the next economic crisis precipitate more educational insecurity than before. Finally, there is the need for a “solidarity of interest” among professors.

With contradictory aims, uncertainty of professional status, and serious problems of finance and administration in higher education, it is clear that a scholar who desires to enter college teaching may well hesitate and take stock of the situation. Some of his questions will be answered by Dr. Kuder's book which is invaluable for administrators, vocational counselors and those wishing to enter college teaching. It interprets trends during fifty years in eleven independent liberal arts colleges in New England.

Dr. Wesley has made an exhaustive study of the teaching of social studies in the schools. All conceivable problems connected with the teaching of the social studies are considered, including: foundations of the social studies, history and status of the social studies, making the social studies curriculum, equipment in the social studies, teaching and learning, measurement and evaluation.

Of interest is Dr. Wesley's distinction between *social science* and *social studies*. The *social sciences* are all “scholarly materials about human beings and their interrelations” and the *social studies* are “the *social sciences* simplified for pedagogical purposes.” He believes, therefore, that for instructional purposes social sciences must be adjusted to the capacities of those who are to be instructed. Although Dr. Wesley considers the elementary and secondary schools only, his thought raises the question precipitated by Dr. Johnston: Are students to be fitted to the college or is the college to be fitted to the students? Dr. Wesley's book is too comprehensive

to review in a few words. One should mention, however, his complete bibliographies, his summary of recent experimental studies, and his excellent discussions of learning and teaching. He has prepared an outstanding theoretical and practical handbook on the teaching of the social studies.

LESLIE DAY ZELENY

*State Teachers College
St. Cloud, Minnesota*

Taming Philippine Headhunters: A Study of Government and of Cultural Change in Northern Luzon. By FELIX N. and MARIE KEESING, with an Introduction by THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934. Pp. 288. \$2.75.

The Philippine Islands include a population of approximately eleven million people. Most of these are known as Filipinos and represent the body of the Islanders who by reason of three hundred years under Spanish colonization were converted to Catholicism and developed an advanced degree of Asio-Spanish culture. About one million, however, constitute what are known as the wild tribes, chiefly pre-literates and having a much lower scale of culture. The present volume deals with the inhabitants of the mountain province of Northern Luzon containing a population of approximately one-fourth million of persons who have been barely touched by Spanish colonization and who maintained their primitive customs unchanged, including that of the head-hunting of enemies, down into the period of American occupation of the Islands. This study, made with the full co-operation of the Philippine government, is an excellent presentation of the cultural changes, including the abandonment of head-hunting, which have taken place among the people since the American occupation in 1898. Externally the people remain much the same, still universally carrying weapons, and dressing in their scanty aboriginal costume. However, schools are helping to change this and a considerable number of their young people have gone to neighboring provinces and even to the University of the Philippines for advanced education. Increasingly, members of the communities are themselves being utilized in local government and other positions of responsibility. The building of good roads is widening their contacts with their neighbors and is a means of bringing in many things which raise the standard of living.

There are still many unsolved problems: (1) How shall satisfactory occupations be provided for the mountain boys and girls who obtain an advanced Philippine education and return to the crudities of mountain tribal life? (2) The peaceable relations and absence of headhunting which now prevail are still maintained by means of constant watchfulness and surveillance of the mountain constabulary. How can this be handled so that it may be self-sustaining? (3) Up to the present, although they have had a number of local leaders in public affairs, much of what has developed has been through filling positions in the mountain province with Filipinos from the Christian provinces. To what extent should there be a policy of "Filipinizing" the mountain population, and to what extent should it be autonomous? (4) One of the most perplexing problems, however, is that of humane and proper tutelage of the mountain peoples after Philippine independence is granted. The wild tribes and the Christian Filipinos have in the past had little love for each other and much of the governing of the mountain peoples has been carried on under American governors long after corresponding offices among the Filipinos were filled by their own people. A serious question which accompanies the extension of

Philippine independence is whether it may be at the expense of the safety and happiness of the wild tribes; or whether the Filipinos will be able to carry on in a satisfactory way.

EARLE EUBANK

University of Cincinnati

The Ethnography of the Tanaina (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, vol. 16). By CORNELIUS OSGOOD. Yale University Press. New Haven, Conn. 1937. Pp. 229. \$3.00.

The Tanaina (people corresponding to the Tana-Tinne-Dene-Dindjie of other Northern Athapaskan languages) are an Athapaskan-speaking group living along the shores of Cook Inlet, southern coast of Alaska. Actually they are divided into six local groups, each showing some minor cultural and dialectic differences, but they consider themselves collectively a cultural unit distinct from the neighboring Eskimo. The work is a continuation of Dr. Osgood's investigations into Northern Athapaskan ethnography, paucity of data concerning which has hitherto constituted one of the largest *lacunae* in the ethnography of North America.

Only the remnants of the aboriginal culture are now in use, and the author has been forced to rely largely upon informants from the older section of the population for the reconstruction of the aboriginal culture which he offers in his paper. As is perhaps inevitable when such data must be used, the material aspects of the culture seem to be much more clearly drawn than the non-material culture; but even in "social culture" the main outline of certain institutions has been well sketched for comparative ethnographic purposes. The result is a carefully collected body of data (combined with a thorough study of the literature) which should be of great aid in the study of Athapaskan ethnography and, perhaps, in the reconstruction of the culture history of the northwest portion of the continent. The fact that little concerning culture processes or social function emerges from this study arises, doubtless, both from the present disintegrated character of the culture and from the investigator's absorption in recapturing the more tangible formal features of the culture.

It does not seem unfair, however, that social anthropologists and sociologists should desire that ethnographers might increase the general usefulness of their works by giving somewhat more attention to sociological principles. For instance, we find no clear description of the family nor of the household as they existed among these people, although occasional reference is made to them. The relationship of the household group to the clan structure is not made clear nor to the family itself. The result is that the reader finds it difficult, if not impossible, to form a comprehensive idea of the bases of social life, as well as of all of the forms. It is also difficult to see the logic of presentation in the section on "social culture" which begins with an account of War, leaving the sketch of social and political organization, without which the warlike activities of the Tanaina, or scarcely any other people, can hardly be understood, for later presentation. This reviewer is well aware of the value of ethnography as such, as well as of the difficulties of obtaining information concerning the former configuration of a now decayed culture, but it seems that ethnographers should not lose sight of the fact that culture is, after all, a phase of human group life. It is often too easy to think of culture as simply a collection of traits and to forget that they once had to be organized in conformity with the requirements of a living group of human beings.

JOHN P. GILLIN

Ohio State University

Československá Vlastivěda (Czechoslovakia in All Her Aspects). Series II, Vol. III. *Národopis* (Ethnography). Ed. by JIŘÍ HORÁK, KAREL CHOTEK & JINDŘICH MATIEGKA. Prague: Sfinx Bohumil Janda, 1937. Pp. 392. Kč 190.

Hungarian Peasant Customs. By KÁROLY VISKI. Budapest: George Vajna & Co., 1937. Pp. 187.

The first work is one of the volumes of a monumental encyclopaedic series describing all the aspects of modern Czechoslovakia. The volume indicates how valuable are sociology and the other social sciences for a successful execution of such an undertaking. Although the chapters of the book have not been prepared by professional sociologists, they bear all the marks of the sociological trade as far as the contents and the methods of treatment are concerned. Antonín Boháč, a well-known statistician and docent of Charles University, describes in the opening chapter the development and the use of the statistical method on the territory now known as Czechoslovakia; his is the first systematic treatment of this subject.

Jan Auerhan, President of the State Statistical Office and also docent of the same university, and one of the outstanding Czechoslovak authorities on the Czechoslovak minorities abroad, provides us with a careful demographical survey of the Czechoslovak emigrants settled abroad, from the standpoint of their settlement, religion, occupation, sex, age, movements, and denationalization. The next two chapters, prepared by Professor Chotek, deal with the forms of peasant settlements and the peasant costumes and mores, while Dr. Drahomír Stránská completes the picture by describing the peasant customs. Chotek's introductory chapter on the fundamental value of the peasant culture is one of the finest treatises written on that subject. Professor Jindřich Matiegka of Charles University follows with a fine study of the folk medical practices, the first monograph of its kind published in Central Europe using the comparative method. The last chapter is that of Dr. Gustav Jungbauer, Professor of the German University, on the folk culture of the Germans, wherein he carefully delineates the German marginal culture from the type of culture developed by the German language islands isolated by the surrounding Czech element. He pays attention to several phenomena which are usually neglected by specialists in this field, such as the folk concepts of the law, the origin of the peasant kitchen, new historical legends, etc. Innumerable maps, drawings, and photographs are inserted throughout the volume, and good bibliographies are appended to each chapter.

The work has, of course, its weaknesses. One would expect that Dr. Auerhan would pay more attention to the Czechoslovaks in the United States, since they are the largest branch of the Czechoslovak emigrants, and be better acquainted with the United States census of 1930, as well as the census of religious bodies of 1926. One regrets that the German and Polish minorities are not included in this volume. Some concepts need better definitions, especially state, nation and nationality. None the less, this is a great work. It is not as systematic as Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant*, but its wealth of material could easily make it a source-book for *The Czechslovak Peasant*.

Viski's work belongs to the same field as the previous work, although it is not at all as pretentious and inclusive. He describes briefly and picturesquely Hungarian peasant customs, giving occasional explanations of their origin and history. This description of some twenty varieties of folk mores, which still survive in Hungary indicates the peasant way of thinking which still exists in slightly different forms in

all Central and East European countries. The translations of ancient Hungarian spells and minstrel-songs are beautifully done, and not the least interesting feature of the book consists of a series of excellent photographs. The work has really no competitor in English in this field.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

New York University

The Story of a Bohemian-American Village. By ROBERT I. KUTAK. Louisville: The Standard Printing Company, 1933. Pp. xvi+156. \$2.00.

Deutsches und madjarisches Dorf in Ungarn. By HELMUT KLOCKE. 3. Beiheft zur Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik, Band VII. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1937. Pp. 97. RM 4.

Medieval Agrarian Economy. By N. NEILSON. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936. Pp. vi+106. \$1.00.

In the first of these books the author draws a picture of life in Milligan, an isolated rural community in Nebraska, 90 per cent of the inhabitants of which are Czech immigrants belonging mostly to the second and third generations. The purpose of the study is twofold: first "to discover which modes of behavior had persisted in the new world and which had changed, and in so far as possible, to discover the causes of these persistences and changes," and, secondly, to find out whether the adjustment of the Bohemian immigrants to a rural environment differed from that to a city environment. Although falling short of attaining these objectives, the book, nevertheless, affords the reader an adequate insight into the life of a Czech immigrant community left to work out its problems without the interference of outsiders. Despite this isolation, the cultural patterns of the American village in that region are found to be fast replacing the ones which the group brought with it, the Czech language, manner of cooking, and notorious lack of church-mindedness being the only major characteristics still largely persisting. Due to the simplicity and homogeneity of the environment, concludes Professor Kutak, the Czechs of Milligan tend to be better adjusted individuals than those living in the cities.

The author of the second work had a similar objective in his study of German colonies in Hungary, but his approach is more nearly that of the agrarian economist. Five rural communities situated in two different sections of southern Hungary and inhabited almost exclusively by descendants of eighteenth century German immigrants are subjected to an investigation. For the purpose of comparison a typical Magyar village is included in the analysis. Although quite Magyarized, these German communities, the author points out, have, nevertheless, preserved a number of original traits distinguishing them from surrounding non-German villages. This, he finds, is especially true of their economic set-up which, on the whole, appears to be a healthier one.

With only 93 small-sized pages at his disposal, Professor Neilson manages, in a lucid, readable style, to bring out clearly the essential features of medieval village life in Western Europe. The booklet, another in the series of the Berkshire Studies in European History, should prove a real aid not only to history students for whom it was primarily intended, but should also be found useful in rural and urban sociology classes.

SAMUEL KOENIG

New Haven, Connecticut

Československá Filosofie (Czechoslovak Philosophy). By JOSEF KRÁL. Prague: Melantrich, 1937. Pp. xii+338. Kč 90.-

The title of this work is somewhat misleading, since the field of philosophy is only one of several with which it deals. In fact, we find here chapters on the genetic growth of noetics, logic, ethics, psychology, aesthetics, the philosophy of religion, pedagogy, sociology, the history of philosophy, and the spirit of Czech philosophy, together with two special chapters on the German philosophy and the Slav philosophy in Czechoslovakia. Each chapter characterizes the main ideas and the fundamental viewpoints of individual thinkers or of philosophical tendencies. The chapter on sociology is one of the best, possibly because the author is Professor of Sociology in Charles University and successor of Masaryk and Beneš there. It covers 37 pages (pp. 183-220). In addition to the bibliographical references scattered throughout the text, a classified bibliography of 55 pages is also appended, together with an excellent index. It is the only and the first systematic survey of the field of social sciences in Czechoslovakia, a useful source-book and reference book, a work of immense detail, which handles its numberless facts with a sure sense of what is relevant and indispensable to the clear outline of a complex story. Errors of fact we find are few and trifling.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

New York University

Social Process in Hawaii, III, Published by the Sociology Club, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1937, pp. 75.

This volume of a student publication deals mainly with some "Old World" institutions in Hawaii. Especially attractive are the articles describing several aspects of intimate life within Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Portuguese families. The four articles dealing with religious temples and Japanese *tanamoshi* point to fields where more intensive work should be profitable. It is hoped that the students and advisers will continue to give us a few insights into aspects of Hawaiian race and acculturation problems not usually found in other works.

FORREST LAVIOLETTE

University of Washington

Manual for Southern Regions. By LEE M. BROOKS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xiv+194, including charts, maps, tables, and index. \$1.00.

For classroom purposes particularly, and for the general reader who strives to derive from his reading the richest harvest of fact and organized knowledge, the manual recently issued to facilitate thorough study of Howard Odum's monographic "Southern Regions of the United States," is invaluable. Not only does it supplement the extensive material which that book presents, but it also stimulates further reading and research in the field, clarifies incomplete or obscure views of the original thesis which the book presents, and aids the reader in crystallizing his own opinions.

The manual is divided for the convenience of the reader and the student with a number of definite and distinct sections: (1) Aims for the student; (2) Reading material for study; (3) Definitions and general guidance; (4) Questions primarily on facts and mapograph interpretations; (5) Questions primarily on policy and program; (6) Topics for forum and debate; and (7) Suggestions.

Constructive planning for the South, and a program of progressive improvement, keeping ever in mind the vital interdependence of the several regions of America, are cordially advocated.

W. ELMER EKBLAW

Clark University

International Picture Language. By OTTO NEURATH. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Ltd., 1936. Pp. 117. 2/6 Net.

The best known contribution of Dr. Neurath and his staff of artists is a splendid collection of 100 colored pictographs entitled: "Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft" published by Bibliographisches Institut, A. G. in Leipzig 1930. Compared with the large size pictographs of this collection the volume "International Picture Language" stands in strong contrast to the former due to its 3½ inches by 6 inches dwarf size, a format not suited for the reproduction of pictographs. To the American reader the publication is of interest because Neurath explains in it some of the principles upon which the method of the "International System of Typographic Picture Education" is based.

The volume has numerous defects, one of them being the fact that it is written in so called "Basic English," the principle of which is the use of a strictly limited number of words, with the following cryptogrammic result. I quote from page 92: "It is true that we see at one look that one country is greater than another. But it is impossible to see what number of times one country is greater than another, the addition of which countries makes a country the same size as which other country, and so on."

From the point of view of graphic presentation Dr. Neurath establishes some axioms which must be termed extreme postulates. Reference is made to the statements on pages 102 and 103, where the author condemns the use of curves in time series for presenting amounts produced because in his opinion only the area between curve and base line is representative of amounts but not the curve.

The author stresses the importance of "transformation" by which is meant the method of extracting from a given set of statistical data the most important and vital items for the purpose of pictographic presentation, the term furthermore applies to the correct combination, use and composition of the pictographic unit symbols to obtain the maximum effect and efficiency of visualization. The "transformation" of the data for picture 31 on page 87 "Births and Deaths in Germany in a Year," for example, is unconvincing. The excess of births or deaths is not as clearly brought out as could have been done by a simpler arrangement.

The bibliography on page 116 refers only to writings contributed by Dr. Neurath; no reference is made to the various contributions of American statisticians to graphic and pictorial presentation which were published prior to most of Dr. Neurath's publications. The contents of Dr. Neurath's book is largely taken from his German publication entitled *Bildstatistik nach Wiener Methode in der Schule* which appeared in 1933.

R. VON HUHN

Washington, D. C.

The Elements of Research. By FREDERICK LAMSON WHITNEY. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xvii+616.

The Director of the Graduate School, Colorado State College of Education, "(has written primarily for) graduate departments of institutions of higher education," secondarily, "for any student, administrative office, or research department, who

wishes to study his problems objectively" . . . "The point of view is more often that of the beginner . . . than that of the seasoned scientist." The chapters follow a sequence from the importance of "Reflective Thought" to "The Research Report," and include separate accounts of Descriptive, Historical, Experimental, Philosophical, Prognostic, Curriculum, Sociological, and Creative research techniques (each provided with its appropriate score card). The content and extensive bibliography are heavily weighted towards the field of Education.

For the 'beginner' some of the chapters seem indigestibly cluttered with everything from various persons' lists of research traits, how to get a problem, etc., to Publishers' Book Series and the Dewey decimal classification for Education, while the chapters on research techniques are sketchily presented. The 'case study' method, for example, is described in one paragraph, and exemplified in one page and a half (pp. 274-6). Nevertheless, the provided 'Research Exercises' are frequently of such rigor as: "On a scale—from no-thinking at the left—to perfect reflection at the right, place the work of Comte, Ward, Giddings, Spencer, W. C. Mitchell, Bryce, Jevons, Sumner, J. M. Brewer, P. W. L. Cox, J. L. Loftus, (and twelve others)" (p. 508). Similar rigor is demanded in such matters as selecting a problem, where thirteen points are given, two of which are: "Analyze everything already known, all previous research; become a scholar in one or more specialties" (p. 159).

The beginner, moreover, will discover that the *Journal of Educational Sociology* is our 'outstanding periodical' (p. 177); that "(Pareto's residues and combinations) were proposed as units of measurement . . . similar for example to the foot and the pound in physics" (p. 42); that "Primitive cultures have not illustrated (the) attitude of reflection" (p. 1); and that among "illustrations of sociological research" are *Mental Hygiene's Challenge to Education* and *The Menace of Drugs* (pp. 509-510). These are not a-typical examples.

The author's sound thesis that "all creditable research should be in terms of reflective thinking" (involving *feeling of need, problem, hypothesis, test, prediction*) runs through the book. It is unfortunate that this and the extensive bibliography did not produce a more important book.

RAYMOND V. BOWERS

University of Rochester

Aspetti Demografici dei Gruppi Confessionali in Ungheria con particolare Riguarda agli Ebrai. By STEFANO SOMOGYI. Rome: Istituto per l'Europa Orientale, 1936. Pp. 238.

Continuing efforts to demonstrate the role of religious factors in economic, political, and demographic contrasts between groups in America almost uniformly conclude that no definite conclusion emerges. The stock apology is that, although we know that religion is variously associated with other social attributes, we lack the statistical source material to demonstrate this directly and to control the several variables. Many European countries generously provide this pertinent evidence, among them Hungary. Somogyi has contributed a thorough, if not exhaustive, study on this question. The contrasts among the half-dozen odd major religious groups in urban-rural residence, births, marriages, deaths, occupation, and social status are displayed in numerous tables. The text interprets the intricate inter-relationships among these factors and traits, without actually correcting for their separate weights, however. There is a bibliography but no index.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Iowa Experiment Station

Students and Occupations. By E. G. WILLIAMSON. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937. Pp. xxi+437. \$2.50.

The reasonable demand that the guidance of students or any other kind of guidance shall be grounded in social knowledge and enlightenment is partially met in this volume. The first part of it is devoted to a discussion of the non-vocational values of general education. There is a chapter on the making of a vocational choice in which it is stated that general education is in reality an important part of vocational training because it enhances versatility and adaptation to changing occupational patterns. Yet in the light of what has been recently disclosed as technological and business trends the discussion here cannot be regarded as ample to satisfy the sociologist or the demands of guidance. The volume is chiefly concerned with professional training and the information given concerning various types of professional service, such as medicine, law and engineering appears to the reviewer to be distinctly better than what has currently passed for guidance. Moreover, the chapters have excellent bibliographies, which, if utilized, would go far toward making a course in occupations a part of general education. There is also due attention to the opportunities for special training for the trades and professions; there is a suggestive analysis of social work requirements; and the book closes with the public service occupations, including military service.

GUY V. PRICE

Teachers College, Kansas City, Mo.

L'Émigration de la Campagne à la Ville Libre de Florence au xiii^e Siècle.
By JOHAN PLESNER. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1934. Pp. xvi+240.

In this monograph, bearing the literally exact but sociologically misleading title, Plesner attempts to revise a classic interpretation of one epoch of medieval history. The accepted theory portrays the blossoming late medieval Italian cities as aggressively expanding their power and realms by conquest or purchase, at bankrupt prices, of the rural domains surrounding their walls. This resulted in a shift of power from the hitherto dominant rural landed aristocracy to the new merchant class. Plesner argues that this is a superficial and false picture of what occurred in Italy. By using a varied array of governmental, fiscal, and private documents he shows that in reality, while the seat of the governing group did shift from country to city, this did not involve any change in the personnel of the ruling class since it was accomplished by assimilating the rural lords to citizenship in the city. The rural propertied groups migrated to Florence but the lower classes remained on the domains. Aside from this history of one epoch in the relationships of city and country, Plesner's study will interest rural sociologists by virtue of its carefully drawn picture of the 'morphology' of medieval rural communities of Italy.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Iowa Experiment Station

Saggi di Storia Economica Italiana. By AMINTORE FANFANI. Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Serie Terza: Scienze Sociali. Vol. XVI. Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1936. Pp. vii+302.

The interminable searching through heterogeneous volumes for stray sociological nuggets, which is our professional lot, is well illustrated by this collection of essays. Fanfani discusses: (1) Costs and profits of Bracci, a 13th century merchant

of Arezzo; (2) Domestic economy of the Peruzzi and their households; (3) Philanthropy in a Tuscan commune from the 13th to 15th centuries; (4) Artisans of Sansepolcro from the 14th to the 16th centuries; (5) Medieval Italian inns; (6) Demographic aspects of the policies of the Dukes of Milan (1386-1535); (7) Lombardy mining industry under Spanish rule; (8) Problems of labor in Italy, 1870-1900. The third, fifth, sixth, and seventh essays contain material in some degree sociological. The analysis of the efforts of the Milan dukes to encourage population increase through tax exemptions to large families, bonuses to immigrating artisans, and incentives to marriage provides many suggestive parallels with modern times.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Iowa Experiment Station

Newcomers and Nomads in California. By WM. T. and DOROTHY E. CROSS. Stanford Univ. Press, 1937. Pp. 147.

The Migratory-Casual Worker (Research Monograph VII). By JOHN N. WEBB. Washington, D.C.: Division of Social Research, WPA, 1937. Pp. 128.

A Survey of the Transient and Homeless Population in 12 Cities. By JOHN N. WEBB and OTHERS. Washington, D.C.: Division of Social Research, WPA, 1937. Pp. 52.

Whoever reads these timely reports on transiency must conclude that after all the problem of the homeless migrant is still with us. Mr. and Mrs. Cross, social workers, write of nomads in California. Dr. Webb is a Government official, and he writes of nomads as seen from a national perspective. It all adds to our fund of information, but now that the Federal Government is out of transient relief, the problem is back again in the limited hands of local public agencies, or the frustrated hands of private agencies, most of them too poor or too inefficient to be of much help.

The Cross book is really a report of what is happening now after what has happened during several years in California. Much is said about social work but too little about work, the lack of which is at the heart of this problem. Mr. and Mrs. Cross have made a contribution, which is worth reading, in spite of what is not said about the exploitation of nomads in that state. They have included a good bibliography.

The Migratory-Casual Worker is a study of 500 transient-cases selected in about 14 cities. It deals mainly with the how, when and where of work, with earnings and the hit or miss methods transients use in getting jobs. Some good maps are included showing the zones and lines of movement for ten or more occupational groups.

Unlike his monograph, Dr. Webb's survey of transient and homeless persons in 12 cities is a statistical comparison. A 24-hour census was taken of homeless in all public and private agencies in September, 1935; and a year later in the same 12 cities another 24-hour census was taken. The first census reported 37,424 persons and families; the second census showed 14,911. The characteristics of the population in each census are given. The problem is to explain the drop of 61 percent. It is not easy to do, but it was evident that there was less moving about in September 1936, with no Federal program than in September 1935, when the Federal transient program was about to terminate.

These reports indicate clearly that the transient problem cannot be handled

locally or by states. It is a Federal responsibility, but it is just as clearly implied that a Federal program would have to be a comprehensive one with its major emphasis on useful public work.

NELS ANDERSON

WPA, Washington, D. C.

Substitute Parents. A Study of Foster Families. By MARY BUELL SAYLES. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1936. Pp. 309. \$1.75.

In reviewing this book at greater length in another journal, I indicated a sense of confusion. After reading it carefully again, I still think it lacks clarity as to what the author means to say and accomplish. In the preface she says, "The book is intended for any reader who is interested in children primarily from the parents' point of view, or anyone who cares to learn what relationships developed in foster homes may mean to foster parents as well as to children." In the beginning one thinks the author is going to write a book for average parents, pointing out lessons for them from the recorded experience of foster parents. After the preface and first chapter, however, this idea seems to give way to a more general discussion of the problems of foster family care of children. In many places in this discussion the reader cannot be sure whether the author is talking about adoptive parents or boarding parents. There is a difference. If one omits the preface and the first chapter, he finds the book somewhat more uniform. It might be better for the average reader to read Part II first and get the very interesting case stories in mind before reading the author's conclusions which are set forth in Part I.

The text is definitely weighted with so-called "psychiatric approach." This results in some passages which make one wonder whether they would be helpful "For any reader who is interested in children." If space allowed I should quote passages which suggest that before the appearance of so-called "mental hygiene" most people, except the very "experienced social workers," were so "naive" as to accept "without question statements as to motive made by the applicants for foster children." Many of us who are interested in children were brought up by grandmothers who taught us that, "many different forces combine to influence each of us," and often we are not so much impressed by the weighty way in which some of our psychiatric literature sets forth some rather obvious truth. The assumption on the part of the disciples of a new religion that their predecessors had no religion may seem "naive" to the latter.

It is, however, quite important for some one to say with emphasis over and over again that people who attempt to do anything with children might well be thoughtful about what they are doing and that those who attempt such a drastic thing as placing them in other families than their own ought to be especially thoughtful and careful. And so in spite of the above criticisms and in spite of his feeling that this book could be greatly improved by more work upon the text, the reviewer is bound to say that it is a good book. In general the style is simple and readable, which the average person can understand. Its pronouncements are sound. It is thought-provoking and I can see some foster parents as well as social workers reading it with interest and profit. It is certainly a very good antidote to some of the miserable writing which is being published on Adoption. With all its merit, however, the book still leaves for somebody the task of writing a book on foster care of children which grows slowly out of a profound reflection over extended work in the field,—a book that grows up out of experience rather than down out of theory.

CHENEY C. JONES

New England Home for Little Wanderers

American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915. By BLAKE MCKELVEY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. xiv+242. \$3.00.

The scattered volumes of the history of penological development by States has left unmet the need for a comprehensive study of the prison systems of the United States as a whole. Blake McKelvey, in his concise treatise, has endeavored to sketch the outline of such a study, but the future social historian will need to extend the present author's boundaries, as well as to probe more deeply and extensively some of the cultural elements which inhere in the American penal system. Indeed one wonders whether there is an American penal system in the sense that one speaks of the English, the French, the Soviet penal system. Rather, as McKelvey indicates, the history of the American system is essentially the history of State, of sectional developments. Not even the Federal prison system can be called the American system. Yet no history of penology in America will be complete without adequate consideration of the Federal program.

Prison and correctional systems like other institutional forms have been produced out of the culture medium of the time and place. Inherent in this setting have been politicians and reformers, able prison administrators and honest public servants, and the inevitable dualism of punishment or reformation. Despite the well-intentioned and enlightened efforts of reformers, the devotion of efficient administrators, the zeal of public servants, the fate of any penal system was decided at the State Capitol in response to public pressure or political expediency. Should prisoners work? was decided not upon the basis of the therapeutic value of prison labor, but upon the issue of whether or not the prison could be self-supporting; should the labor be creative and educative or routinized? too was decided upon the fact that prisons were intended to pay as much of their way as possible. Should the purpose of the prison be to reform or to punish? was answered too often by the ultimate authority, in theory for reformation, in practice for punishment.

As McKelvey stresses over and over again, American penology is the story of the slow beginning, many false starts, a progression here, a retrogression there, a stagnation at another place. One state in the lead at one time is surpassed by others who seem to have less at stake in holding to an ancient tradition, other states consistently lag, adding to their prison system only when more progressive states have passed on to a newer development, still other states perpetuate the iniquities of their own systems despite the world of change around them.

No history of the State developments is complete without mention of the leading reformers and administrators. McKelvey well sketches the roles of such men as the Dwights, Louis and Theodore, the Pillsburys, Moses, Louis, and Amos, the Vauxs, Richard and Robert, the Wineses, E. C. and F. H., Horace Mann, F. B. Sanborn, S. J. Barrows, Dorothea Dix, Z. R. Brockway, and Hastings Hart.

The virtue of McKelvey's volume lies in its conciseness, its readability, its ample documentation. Without pretending to all-inclusiveness it does succeed in tracing the operation of certain fundamental factors at work during the last century and a half which are essential to an understanding of the uniqueness of the American States' development. The work suffers only because the author has failed at amplification of these basic social elements. It falls short by just that much of being an authoritative social history of American prisons.

ARTHUR E. FINK

University of Pennsylvania

A Puritan Outpost: A History of the Town and People of Northfield, Massachusetts. By HERBERT C. PARSONS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. xiii+546. \$5.00.

The town of Northfield, first occupied in 1672 as a settlement in frontier territory, was twice abandoned because of Indian attack before it achieved its permanent establishment in 1714. Even then, because of its strategic location, it was in constant danger from French, Indians, and British through the wars of the eighteenth century. With the activities of Dwight L. Moody, from 1875 onwards, Northfield came into its fullest life.

It would have been rewarding, in writing the history of the town, to trace the evolution of adaptive change in its social institutions; but Mr. Parsons has written rather for local Northfield readers. He mentions hundreds of names, devises imaginary conversations, and recreates states of mind, all in a decidedly outmoded fashion of historical writing. His facts are probably accurate, although he provides no documentation. His book, so far as social science is concerned, is a missed opportunity.

JAMES G. LEYBURN

Yale University

Three Ways of Modern Man. By HARRY SLOCHOWER. New York: International Publishers, 1937. Pp. 218. \$2.00.

This book describes three contemporary modes of life or ideologies. They are "feudal socialism," "bourgeoisie liberalism" and "socialist humanism." The three really turn out to be four, for "Fascism," exrescent phase of the second threatening the values of the others, is discussed also.

The author's method is dialectic. Instead of attempting an abstract analysis of these cultural complexes, he has selected and interpreted works of fiction representing the concrete embodiments of the patterns. In other words we have the literary critic using the contemporary novel as a vehicle for the exposition and evaluation of social attitudes. It is a method that will attract a larger audience than would be drawn by any other procedure.

Sigrid Undset's *Kristin Lavransdatter* he takes to reveal feudal socialism as it operates in contemporary life. Its emphasis on the individual's submission to family and religion exemplified in its characters, reflects the medieval ideal. Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain* serves a like purpose for bourgeois liberalism, not as regards the actual business practices which it ignores, but as these work themselves out in ideological forms and conflicts. The people of the mountain symbolize the transcendental aspects of futile individualism. Nexö's *Pelle the Conqueror* illustrates socialist humanism which signifies the natural growth of the individual and group to freedom and unity. Its "hero" symbolizes the "eternal spring of the labor movement" and human development through which emancipation comes. Of the three "perspectives of modern man" only the last is valid.

The book concludes by reviewing trends in recent fiction paralleling these ways, including Fascist "co-ordination" as an irrational perversion.

The study shows a deep and comprehensive insight into the social thought of modern fiction. It is a work of art mirroring the substance of other works of art dealing with the dilemma of modern man.

NEWELL L. SIMS

Oberlin College

The First Russian Revolution, 1825. The Decembrist Movement. By ANATOLE G. MAUZER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937. Pp. xviii + 324. \$4.00.

The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-18. By ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xiii + 270. \$3.00.

The great, successful revolutions in Western history have been rather intensively studied by sociologists. Their social pattern has been made fairly plain and knowledge of it has been popularized. But a much larger group of cognate social movements has been almost entirely neglected. This group consists of abortive revolutions, insurrections that fail, rebellions that are suppressed, revolts, conspiracies, uprisings and insurgencies generally hopeless from the start. Such movements are of every degree of importance—from Bacon's Rebellion to the Civil War in American history—from the Decembrist Movement to the great Pugachev Revolt in Russian history. The number of such futile disturbances is enormous. They are so frequent as to be almost a constant feature in history. Collectively they affect the lives of many more people than do the great successful revolutions. A knowledge of the pattern of these forlorn movements is much needed. If we had it, much useless suffering might perhaps be avoided.

The two books listed above are run of the mine histories. But they are histories from which sociologists can gather data for a sociology of abortive revolution. We need scores and hundreds of such studies.

Miss Armstrong makes a distinction—which may perhaps be of use—between 'a sense of nationality' and 'nationalism.' The French Canadians of Quebec have a strong 'sense of nationality.' They are a nation within a nation. But they are not nationalists. They do not wish to impose their ideals upon the other groups in the Dominion.

Dr. Mauzer's book on "The First Russian Revolution," as he calls the Decembrist Movement, is the first adequate study of the subject. It bears evident signs of being written in Berkeley, California instead of Moscow, Russia. The words 'feudalism' and 'aristocracy' should be used in connection with Russia only after careful definition.

Both books are models as to bibliography, index and other apparatus. Dr. Mauzer's book is illustrated with numerous plates and has three maps.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

Bard College

Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie. By EDUARD FUETER. Third edition, with an appendix by Dietrich Gerhard and Paul Sattler. München: R. Oldenbourg, 1936. Pp. 692. RM 21.00.

The history of modern historiography by the late Swiss historian, Eduard Fueter, is well known as one of the standard works of historical science. The present third edition of the book retains the text, as established by the author, intact. We are especially thankful for that. For Fueter's book is as remarkable for the immense amount of judicious scholarship which went into its making as for the personal attitude of the author who was and remains a liberal according to Western European concepts of liberalism and therefore critical of much in Prussian historiography. The editors of this third edition have added a valuable annex in which they have given additional bibliography about the books published since 1911, the year when Fueter's book first appeared. The present edition is very well printed and edited

and will be most welcome to the historian and social scientist who is now mostly confined to the French edition of the book which was published under the supervision of the author in 1914.

HANS KOHN

Smith College

The Trial of Lizzie Borden. Edited with a History. By EDMUND PEARSON. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1937. Pp. xii+433. \$3.50.

This illustrated volume is presented as the first of a series of "Notable American Trials." It discusses a notorious Massachusetts murder case of 1892 and consists essentially of two sections, the second of which is the documentary record of the arrest, indictment, trial testimony, argument, charge, and verdict together with brief biographical sketches of the persons involved. The first part is a ninety-three page essay by the late Mr. Pearson in which he summarizes the facts, comments on the "New England Temperament," the influence of the press, the place of emotion—and damns the verdict; all so interestingly and effectively that perhaps only a minority of readers will attempt to wade through the testimony and argument of the second part.

The significance for the sociologist lies primarily in the analysis of the mobilization and influence of public opinion as contrasted with the local opinion of the crime community.

COURTLAND C. VAN VECHTEN

Wayne University

Sociálně potřebné rodiny v hlavním městě Praze. (The Socially Needy Families in Prague.) By OTAKAR MACHOTKA. Prague: Státní úřad statistický, 1936. Pp. 302. Kč 65.—

This sociological research and analysis of the conditions and circumstances of 11,982 needy families in Prague is one of the finest works of its kind published in Central Europe. The amount of work put into numerous statistical tables must have been enormous. After defining the "skilled" and "unskilled" needy people, the author analyzes his material from the standpoint of citizenship, religion, occupation, population, dwellings, and economic conditions. It is true that the conclusions here are not startling and, all in all, are similar to those shown by similar studies of American conditions. But the main value of the work lies in the careful execution of the task and the capacity of the author to utilize the best known scientific methods. An English summary of eleven pages makes the conclusions available to non-Czechs.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

New York University

The Concept of Morals. By W. T. STACE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. xi+307. \$2.25.

The author of this fresh and candid work is one of the many who feel that while ethical absolutism is now thoroughly discredited, the alternative, ethical relativism, is in ill accord with the facts of the moral life. He undertakes to show that morality can be universal without being absolute, and adopts what he calls the method of radical empiricism in order to establish his point. Because the book remains strictly within the limits of this problem and method, it does not handle all of the traditional

problems of ethics. It is in no sense a summary of ethical theory, either ancient or modern; the author does not engage in academic polemics about nice differences between his views and those of other authors. It is in the main a very amiable attempt to discover and formulate a universal moral principle by letting the facts, so far as possible, speak for themselves. The result is a lively and instructive discussion of the issues that occupy the moralist and the social philosopher. The book can be read with profit by both the beginning and advanced student of society.

Professor Stace argues that relativists are loath to accept the consequences of their position. Since there is no universal standard of morals, according to their view, it must follow that the standards of any civilized group (granting even that it is possible to define a "group-standard") are no better than those of primitive man, that even the most heinous and brutal crime is morally right if it conforms to some standard somewhere, that all moral progress is illusory, that there is, therefore, no point in striving for higher morality or ideals. "Since no one knows positively what the right is, we will deny that there is any right," says the relativist.

Morality, according to the author, is relative always to human nature. But it concerns only the basic universal needs which men share and the relations they have in common—not the adventitious rules, procedures, and tastes that depend upon individual differences and circumstance. In other words, morality is a means to social happiness; and such happiness is achieved by the practice of justice and altruism. These virtues may therefore be demanded of every sane and conscious human being insofar as he has a social nature. Most of the book is taken up with the working out and formulating of this view, which turns out in the end to be a kind of non-hedonic and non-egoistic utilitarianism. There is a good deal of circularity in the argument as a whole, and it is doubtful if the author successfully escapes egoism in the last analysis. The greatest shortcoming of the book arises from the emphasis upon the barren utilitarian calculus of consequences. Such a view leads inevitably to the disparagement of character, motives, and means. The author is fully aware of these implications, and strives against them manfully, but to little avail. In contrast to Professor Stace's view, the principle of self-realization seems both sounder and more fecund.

There is little that is new or strikingly original in Professor Stace's ideas. But his style and the handling of his material makes this a provocative book. The argument is circumspect and guarded at all points, and the author makes no false claims for his positions. His treatment of many special problems is illuminating and judicious. All in all, it should find many readers who will not fail to be both instructed and entertained by its lucid pages.

OTTO F. KRAUSHAAR

Smith College

Our Racial and National Minorities. Edited by FRANCIS J. BROWN and JOSEPH SLABEY ROUCEK. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1937. Pp. xx+877. \$5.00.

This handbook of the history, contributions, and present problems of the minority groups in the United States will be extremely helpful to the social scientist as well as to the practical worker. After a brief introduction on the meaning of minorities and the problems arising from minorities the first part gives for the first time in a single volume the history and description of all the minority groups, generally written by leaders of these individual groups. Much valuable information for the student of nationalism and of acculturation problems is contained in these surveys, although some of them are necessarily too fragmentary and summary.

From the data furnished by the survey of the minority peoples the specific sociological problems are drawn inductively and discussed in a second part. The third and concluding part stresses less the impact of America's culture upon these minority groups, but rather the effect of their cultures upon America. The editors of this book plead for "cultural pluralism." A final chapter on the national minority in Central Europe does not belong in the book. It is too sketchy to be of any value, and the situation in Central Europe is fundamentally too different from the American one to allow a comparison and contrast.

Within the necessary limitations set by scope, size and subject the editors are to be congratulated for the scholarly and judicious treatment of the difficult problems involved. Much valuable research has been devoted to the minorities from the smaller European countries concerning whom information in English is not easily accessible or does not exist. There is not only a scientific interest in the study of minority problems in America but also a deep human interest, and the editors approach the problems from the point of view of educational sociology. The contribution of the immigrant groups to American culture, the outstanding achievements of the "new citizens," are stressed throughout the book. The chapter by Professor Brown on the contribution of the immigrant seems to me one of the best in the book. His moderate and wise plea for cultural pluralism, which sometimes is advocated in as one-sided and extreme manner as on the opposite side one-hundred percent assimilation is, should certainly be heeded by educators. For the American civilization, if we disregard the Indian culture, has been from the beginning a civilization of immigrants and a blending of many cultures. Immigrants of practically every country of the world have brought to America not only new racial strains, but also cultural contributions from definite historical backgrounds. *E Pluribus Unum* is the symbol of American history and American life, to be and to become "one out of many." The "one" is certainly to be stressed, and integration of the many into a new and constantly changing one must be the goal. In this process, however, the contributions of the "many" should be recognized and appreciated. The words in Zangwill's *The Melting-Pot*: "Yes, East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross-bow, the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame. Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God," implies that the civilizations of the many are not to be entirely obliterated in the one new civilization but their best is to be preserved in the fusion.

HANS KOHN

Smith College

Personality Development in Children. A Multiple Approach to a Complex Problem. By ERNEST J. CHAVE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. xiii+354. \$2.50.

This is not an original scientific study but an eclectic compilation of topics from secondary sources. Standard works have been consulted but periodical literature has scarcely been touched. The book deals in an elementary manner with biological, intellectual, moral and religious development of children in modern American society.

The conceptual net of understanding which the author stretches over the subject-matter is that of Cooley-Mead type. The various chapters stand out somewhat isolated and disconnected. The author contends that biologically personality is definitely limited and organized before the first division of cellular growth has taken place; that psychologically personality is an acquired behavior pattern; that morally

and religiously personality is something subtle, something that grows and unfolds, something that operates even upon one's heredity, and finds its fullest realization in the spirit of religion.

It is also maintained that the developing personality is not a passive victim of heredity and environment but an active aggressive and selective agency in the developmental process. As a consequence of this thesis the author offers an extensive program for providing the proper social, moral and religious environment, furnishing socially approved stimuli for the unfolding of the child's personality. The old Hebrew cosmology is abandoned for a more pleasant view of the world which the author wraps in the cellophane of pantheistic idealism. The child should be individualized, socialized and ethicized; it should be spiritualized with modern faith, and not sterilized with ancient dogmas. It should be taught that the world is orderly and dependable; that the universe supports upward climb; that the facts of history support a progressive hope; that the great world forces support human ideals.

As a prospective text for classes, the book is provided with a chapter on methods of personality study and with an inventory for appraisal of personality assets and liabilities. The style is fluid and charming and the book should appeal to students of theology, to ladies' literary circles, and to social reformers.

C. J. BITTNER

University of Kansas City

Social Security. By MAXWELL S. STEWART. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1937. Pp. 320. \$3.00.

It took the cataclysm of the last depression to bring the people of the United States to a realization of the vulnerability of our economic structure and the consequent insecurity of the individual. Other nations having, throughout the years, evolved means of security, Mr. Stewart reviews the reasons underlying the adoption of their safety measures, and indicates some features which might be incorporated into our own program.

He attributes our slow action in this country to the persistence of the "psychology of the frontier," expressed in the thought that a man can find work if he tries enough and that dependency shows a lack in the individual. He points out also that our industrial development is relatively recent as compared to the industrialization of the European nations, Russia excepted.

Our tardy Federal Social Security Act is far from solving all the problems of insecurity, though Mr. Stewart admits that its proponents wisely restricted their combat to the more readily dramatized causes of social risks, such as old age, unemployment and blindness, and avoided meeting the well-armed knights of the American Medical Association, the life insurance companies and other entrenched groups. These are questions for future action.

Of the faulty machinery within the Act, the author criticizes the pay roll and wage taxes and the building up of huge reserves under the old age annuity and unemployment benefit provisions. He points out that reducing the purchasing power of the low income groups by close to nine percent of income in good times may so close up business as to cause a down-swing in the cycle, or that the reserves may prove a most unsettling factor in the financial structure, tending to nullify the open market operations of the Federal Reserve System. "Social insurance of this kind is a threat to the stability of the capitalist system," and in the opinion of the reviewer, presents the difficulty of greatly increasing taxation during a slump. However, the

argument that social security must rest on a humanitarian rather than on a purely actuarial basis is both economically sound and humane.

Mr. Stewart's book is clearly written and well planned. His suggestions for improving existing legislation and his proposals for the future command respect, and will serve to stimulate intelligent thinking on the whole problem of social security.

DAVID M. SCHNEIDER

New York State Department of Social Welfare

Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union. By HENRY R. SIGERIST. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1937. Pp. 378. \$3.50.

This is the book that should have been written about Soviet Russia and so far has not been. We have had books by quacks, charlatans, mountebanks, and special pleaders of all intellectual shades. This book was written by a reputable and outstanding physician, a specialist in medical history, successor to Dr. William H. Welch, who made a careful investigation and who, above all, thoroughly understands the historical background and the social and economic system, past and present, within which Soviet science and medicine find themselves.

The book is fundamentally about the organization of socialized medicine in the U.S.S.R. But it is much more than that. Soviet medicine and science are considered as integral parts of the Russian philosophy, social set-up, and economic system. The underlying philosophy of the Russian revolution and of the new social order in the U.S.S.R. is both thoroughly and understandingly reviewed. Sufficient is given to make the reader familiar with basic Marxian concepts and with the administrative organization of the New Russia.

In such a system as this—and it is rational in the extreme, its fundamental premises gaining the author's acceptance—research, medicine, and science lose the aloof, otherworldly character they tend to have in our quasi-capitalistic system. They become dynamic, living parts of the whole. Medical ethics and pure research are not subjects that concern a few monkish individuals who seek to wall themselves away from the vibrant society within which they live. They have their place in the social life of the community as a whole and economic changes give them new meaning and character as well.

This matrix of science and medicine is exceedingly important. Among us science came into existence, to all intents and purposes, after we had established our society and economic system upon certain basic theoretical principles. This social and economic system we have sought to maintain despite the progress of science. The new knowledge science has given us is accepted only in so far as we can fit it into a pre-existing system. We could not start from scratch, accept scientific knowledge and the method and spirit of science, and then establish a social and economic system that would enable us to make maximum use of these for the public welfare.

Yet scientific progress has in recent years completely changed the environment of our socio-economic system. In a sense economics and sociology depend directly upon the biological and physical sciences. They are, after all, merely the organized techniques of making knowledge and wealth useful in the largest sense. When science completely changes their environment they become obsolete, and it is futile to tinker with them. They must be changed fundamentally to bring them into unison with the fundamental changes the basic sciences have effected. Hence the difficulties that inhere in attempting to adapt so rational a system of medical care as that in Russia to conditions in this country.

Dr. Sigerist fully reviews the place of science and of medicine in Russian life.

He tells us about the basic principles of Soviet medicine, its central and local organization, the medical workers and their training. Under the protection of groups he discusses labor, rest and recreation, food and housing, epidemics, and social diseases—showing, of course, that for efficiency sake there must be no dividing line between medical research, preventive medicine, and therapy. Under the protection of the individual he discusses mother and child and the medical service provided the working population.

In conclusion he reviews the organization of scientific research in Russia and the provision made for its rational utilization. There follows an epilogue in conclusion and certain appendices containing documents and statistics.

We must seek to visualize here a country so sane that prisoners are settled in villages of their own with their wives and families, full medical care being given, and the children of these criminals are provided with nurses while their fathers work and become adjusted to life. We must visualize a country where railroad stations are fully equipped with physicians and nurses who minister to the crowds that throng here. We must visualize a country that puts a full-time dentist on ocean-going ships to attend the crew's teeth on the theory that when ashore no sailor should be expected to waste his leisure time at a dentist's office.

The whole impression is one of such order and sanity that our own country seems like a madhouse. Yet it seems strange to the writer to find an orthodox physician lauding it in words for which he was himself abused by physicians in 1930-31 when he published his plea for State medicine in this country, *Fads, Frauds, and Physicians*.

In other words the Russian attitude sums up to this: Here is knowledge; here are facts and discoveries; here we have the method, spirit, and technique of science. This is our racial heritage. This is our greatest source of wealth. We must accept it and put it to the most efficient use possible. To do so we must develop a socio-economic system that will permit such rationalized utilization of scientific knowledge and techniques. That, in brief, will explain the position of medicine and research in Russia. For further details see the book.

T. SWANN HARDING

Hillwood, Falls Church, Va.

Social Behavior and Child Personality. By LOIS BARCLAY MURPHY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. 344. \$3.50.

Children were observed in a nursery school, on the playground, and in "framed situations" for reactions of sympathy. Trained observers and teachers kept records and some parents were interviewed. Sympathy is not treated as an isolated trait but as an interactive factor in a whole personality. Furthermore, sympathy and the whole personality were viewed in a social situation. The complexity of human nature and the relationship between personality and the social situation were kept in mind at all times. If I understand the author, sympathy means pity and compassion rather than the ability to share the minds of others, the meaning given it by Cooley.

This high-grade study which could be used in every course in Methods, raised many questions in the thinking of the reviewer. Should we define situations as sympathetic situations or situations for politeness, etc. when the behavior of an individual concerns us? Situations that will elicit sympathy or politeness from one person will get quite different responses from others. Company in one's home is a situation for politeness, but the child often behaves badly. "Framed situations" are adult definitions and may not fit a child's definition at all. Would it not be bet-

cer to study the daily reactions of an individual and see in what situations he expresses sympathy? In some of the verbal responses the reactions seemed to be group patterns rather than sympathy. Children do many things without the adult meaning, because they have seen them done. Even adults express sympathy merely because it is the conventional thing to do. Furthermore, a child may fail to express the sympathy he feels because he is shy or for other reasons.

Professor Murphy views unsympathetic responses as egocentric, and sympathetic responses as social. All responses are both egocentric and social. On all occasions the person reacts to himself quite as much as he does to the object or situation. This statement does not mean that "everything one does is selfish." If a person admires a painting, he reacts to his own sense of beauty quite as much as he does to the picture. Sympathy is a reaction to one's own attitudes as much as it is a response to a distressing situation.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

A History of American History. By MICHAEL KRAUS. New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, 1937. Pp. x+607. \$3.75.

This is the first full length effort which has yet been made to survey American historiography. With the important exception of Harry Elmer Barnes, *The New History and the Social Studies* (1925), which does not appear to be cited anywhere in the book, the Kraus volume, up to the time of publication, represents the first important effort in recent years to do anything with American historiography. In general the development is chronological, with an attempt at description and appraisal, although later chapters, because of the increasing flood of historical writing, are handled topically. Recognizing that this is a pioneering effort, it must be admitted, nevertheless, that the treatment is uneven both in quantity and quality. Colonial historians are given relatively too much attention and more recent students too little. Among later figures Channing is given more space than Turner and more than twice as much as Beard. Generally speaking the author is more successful with the great figures of the early national period than in integrating recent social and economic history and appraising the work of the historical societies. Rarely does the author go beyond conventional appraisals, but as these are generally in line with informed contemporary opinion, the book may be considered a reliable guide for the young historian. Need remains for a less descriptive and more philosophical treatment, one which attempts a closer co-ordination with the social and economic background of the historians.

H. U. FAULKNER

Smith College

Sociology for Schools. By WILLIAM E. COLE and CHARLES S. MONTGOMERY. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1936. Pp. vii+344. \$1.40.

Practical Sociology. By LESLIE DAY ZELNY. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xxi+461. \$3.00.

Sociology is increasingly finding its way into high school curricula but the problems of organizing sociological material for presentation at that level are still far from solution. New high school texts in sociology may still be viewed as forms of pedagogical pioneering, and examined hopefully for needed contributions to teaching method.

From this point of view the Cole and Montgomery text is definitely disappointing. The second half of the book, which is devoted to a study of social problems, goes along well enough in the manner of the usual civics text, but the first and more important section designed to give the student equipment for sociological analysis is less successful. There is an unfortunate tendency to retail the usual sociological concepts like *culture pattern*, *accommodation*, *culture lag* without giving them much more than a brief definition. While some illustrative material is provided, of course, the general impression is of undue compactness, with new terms being introduced in nearly every paragraph. The exposition of principles is skeletonized in the form of lists of attributes or characteristics—eight indices of progress, six “factors which govern group influence,” and so on—that are likely to be learned by rote without much sense of meaning or significance. Perhaps this sort of didactic style is good pedagogy but the reviewer does not think so.

Possibly it is contrast with Zeleny's book that makes Cole and Montgomery's appear unsatisfactory. Both in content and format (except for the absence of illustrations) *Practical Sociology* seems superior. Zeleny omits treatment of social problems as such and confines himself to an analysis, first, of social relations, and second, of “the community and its culture.” The subject matter chosen is certainly no less difficult but space has been allowed on each concept to put some meat on the bare bones of terminology. The particular feature of Zeleny's method of exposition is the use of innumerable “stories of every-day life” to illustrate and make concrete the meanings of sociological terms. The tales describe for the most part fictional incidents in neighborhood and community life; there is much informal dialogue between the characters in the various local dramas which gives a naive and “folksy” air to the accounts. While the sophisticated college sophomore might laugh at the bucolic character of some of the stories the twelfth grader is more likely to regard them as something close to his own experience. If so, then a surprisingly large amount of sociological theory will become real and functional for high school students who use Zeleny's book, for the theory is interwoven into the dramas quite cleverly. The title *Practical Sociology* is thus justified in the sense that the student is learning a sociology he can put to use.

J. L. WOODWARD

Cornell University

The Mentally Ill in America: A History of Their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times. By ALBERT DEUTSCH. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1937. Pp. xvii+530. \$3.00.

Chronicles of Interdict No. 7807. By ANNE KIRK. Boston: The Meador Press, 1937. Pp. 354. \$3.00.

The Maniac: A Realistic Study of Madness from the Maniac's Point of View. By E. THELMAR. New York: The American Psychical Institute, 1937. Pp. xix+259. \$2.00.

It is barely logical to treat three such different works in a single review. One is a solid and valuable history of the various developments in the treatment of insanity in this country, and the others are cranky accounts of their own experiences by two female psychotics. Deutsch presents us with a readable account of the progress of treatment from witch torture down to the mental hygiene movement. Since it is traditional to summarize this history in many articles on the treatment of insanity the story is familiar to most of us, but here it is in one volume, convenient and without surprises. It has a bibliography and an index.

Interdict No. 7808 is an indignant paranoid woman who was confined in two hospitals in Louisiana. She was convinced of a sinister plot against her, involving spying through holes cut in her walls, use of dictographs and wire tapping, putting poison in her food, and many other devices of persecution. Even in the hospitals the devilry continued in many ways. Typically, she is able to make out something of a case for some of her contentions. For example, she documents her discussion of corruption in the state hospital management with published material from newspaper exposes of the time (1910). Though badly written, as one might of course expect, and tiresome in parts, the account shows some of the typical relations of delusion to actual events, and gives us some of the paranoid's own story.

The Maniac is the account, also in the first person, of an Englishwoman whose ravings were diagnosed as dementia praecox. Originally published in 1909 in England, this story is reprinted for the American public. Omitting her life up to the age of thirty-five, she starts right in on her madness. The wild nights of terror, filled with strange voices, demons, balls of fire, and many weird and awful happenings are so strong that the account has the effect of becoming almost funny. One value may be to show the richness of the inner mental life of those insane persons who may appear to be confused, alarmed, but explain little of the reasons they feel that way. Though she eventually appears to realize that these creatures of her nightmares are only fictions of her insanity, it is interesting to notice that some spiritualists apparently took the woman seriously. An introduction to the book by the director of the American Psychical Institute attempts to give an explanation of the visions in terms of the snapping of the cord that connects the physical body with the "astral" body. If the psychic researchers take her seriously, her story should be proclaimed, for her communication over long distances, and her telepathic seduction, pregnancy, and abortion, her murders by thought transmission, and other demonstrations were so spectacular and impressive as to put the pallid feats of the Duke card guessers to shame.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Brown University

Menschliche Erblehre. By ERWIN BAUER, EUGEN FISCHER and FRITZ LENZ. Munich: J. H. Lehmanns, 1936. Pp. viii+796. RM 12.75.

Begabung im Lichte der Eugenik. Forschungen über Biologie, Psychologie und Soziologie der Begabung. By JOSEF SOMOGYI. Leipzig: Franz Deuticke, 1936. Pp. 518. RM 14.00.

The first of these is the fourth edition of a work, the third edition of which was made available to English readers six years ago (*Human Heredity*, trans. by E. and C. Paul, London, 1931). This edition does not differ from its predecessor in viewpoint and emphasis. The first section—"General Theory of Variation and Heredity," revised by Erwin Bauer just before his death, has few changes. The second section, "Inheritance of Sound Physical Traits in Man," by Eugen Fischer, has been considerably expanded, though the headings are the same. The third, fourth and fifth sections, "Inheritance of Defective Physical Traits," "Methods of Research," and "Mental Inheritance," by Fritz Lenz, are more or less modified but not extensively so. As a whole the work is useful for its summaries of numerous researches on human inheritance, being more comprehensive in this respect than any single work in English.

Its value, however, is seriously marred by its frequently uncritical acceptance of genealogical data; its failure to give any adequate discussion of the role of environ-

ment, especially of the cultural medium; its undue attachment to the ideologies of Gobineau, Chamberlain and Günther; and its very inadequate attention to recent work in the English-speaking world. On the other hand, there are many passages that surely can afford no comfort to Herr Streicher. In closing what seems on the whole a dispassionate discussion of Jewish traits, which are attributed in part to biological and in part to social history, the author says Jews and Teutons "are both alike in essential mental attributes, and that is particularly true if by 'Teutons' (*Germanen*) one understands the slender blond race. Both are marked by high capacity for understanding and strength of will; both have great self consciousness, the spirit of enterprise, and a pronounced will to mastery, only with this difference, that the Teuton is inclined to accomplish his purpose more by force (*Gewalt*), the Jew more by cunning (*List*)." This similarity is then explained (and this may serve as a sample of the manner of solving racial puzzles) as due to the blood relationship in the distant past of "the slender blond (Nordic) race element found in the Teuton and the slender dark (Oriental) race element found in the Jews" (p. 756).

Somogyi's work seems to the reviewer the most thoughtful and objective treatise in this highly controversial field he has encountered in either French or German languages. Its scope is identical with that of the foregoing; it also would have profited on the factual side by greater familiarity with English and American research, especially in the fields of individual and race differences. The third part (pp. 359-502), "The Sociology of Ability," is an excellent critique of the whole set of ideas held by various brands of eugenic enthusiasts. In two excellent chapters he tears to shreds the whole fabric of Günther's "Nordische Gedanke," showing that "it finally reduces to nothing more than the age-old truism that the multiplication of able, valuable and honorable men is more desired than that of the good-for-nothings" (p. 462); he discusses the Jews with sense and balance; he brings out clearly the significance of capitalist-individualist ideology both for the decline of the birth rate and its deleterious qualitative effects; he analyzes the possibilities of negative eugenics, showing them to be much more meager than commonly expected; he outlines, with pertinent evaluations, a variety of positive eugenic proposals, concluding with the observation that eugenic policies can be made effective measures only by means of a supporting philosophy of life; "Ethics is the first chapter of all sound eugenics" (p. 456). He refutes the loose reasoning of the partisan opponents of race mixture; discusses very shrewdly the problems of selecting the gifted; and ends with a preachment on the moral obligations of those with superior endowments. In short, while holding that eugenic measures, especially the restoration of fertility among the more able strains, are essential to the preservation of western culture, the author has no illusions as to how easy this is likely to be. He is no utopian, but possessed of judicial and practical intelligence warmed by broad human sympathy and understanding.

FRANK H. HANKINS

Smith College

Education for Social Work, A Sociological Interpretation Based on an International Survey. By ALICE SALOMON. New York: International Committee of Schools of Social Work with support of Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. Pp. 265. \$3.00.

Expansion in the social services is one means by which Western Europe has withstood the effects of the world war and the world wide economic crises which have followed. This expansion has increased the demand for trained personnel in the

field of social work and has stimulated thereby the establishment of schools of social work for the preparation of young men and young women for the field. As these schools have developed it is natural that their philosophies and their curricula should reflect both the objectives of social work and of public education in the several countries of Western Europe. For this reason quite as much as for the factual material presented, Alice Salomon's study is an important contribution to the growing literature of social work.

Although including 179 schools in 32 countries of the world, the study is primarily concerned with the description and analysis of schools in Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States. The national systems of schools of social work in these countries are described somewhat in detail and an attempt made to interpret their programs in the light of the national backgrounds of education and political life. Supporting data upon which this interpretation is based includes a complete list of schools arranged according to countries, with program objectives, admission requirements, curriculum, certificate requirements and student enrollment of each school indicated.

In spite of national differences in educational and social work philosophy, Miss Salomon finds that the problems of education for social work are much the same everywhere. Schools of social work either form units within larger educational or religious institutions or they are parts of the programs of social agencies or organizations. Everywhere the curricula include both academic courses, field work and observation trips although there are important variations in the extent to which a broad general preparation in the social sciences and more specific courses in professional practice and procedures are prescribed. Requirements for admission show considerable variance depending upon the extent to which academic training and practice are weighted. Fields for which students are prepared are much the same everywhere with the emphases upon specific fields determined by basic differences in economic and social philosophy. Industrial welfare work, for example, is emphasized in the European schools, while psychiatry and mental hygiene are more important in the schools of the United States.

Whether by state control of the schools and the granting of state diplomas or by the use of an association as an accrediting body, all of the countries studied have attempted to establish minimum standards which accredited schools are asked to meet. Where uniformity is desired, it is best secured by the use of the state diploma; where a varied and rich curriculum is desired, the use of the voluntary accrediting association has much in its favor.

Miss Salomon's experience as Chairman of the International Committee of Schools of Social Work has undoubtedly contributed much to this particular study. For it is in the comparative analysis of the school systems and their relation to national cultures that the greatest contribution has been made. Individual school programs change too rapidly to make the directory material useful for an extended period, but the interpretation of the philosophy of social work education in terms of the educational and political institutions of each of the countries will remain a useful addition to the literature for a long time.

MARION HATHWAY

University of Pittsburgh

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- The Armenians in Massachusetts.* American Guide Series. Boston: Armenian Historical Society, 1937. Pp. 148. \$1.00.
- Differential Psychology.* By Anne Anastasi. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. Pp. xvii+615. \$3.50.
- Chinese Women Yesterday and Today.* By Florence W. Ayscough. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937. Pp. xiv+324. \$3.50.
- Social Problems and Social Welfare.* By Walter G. Beach and Edward E. Walker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. Pp. xiv+431. \$2.00.
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